Punishing Mississippi *The Editors*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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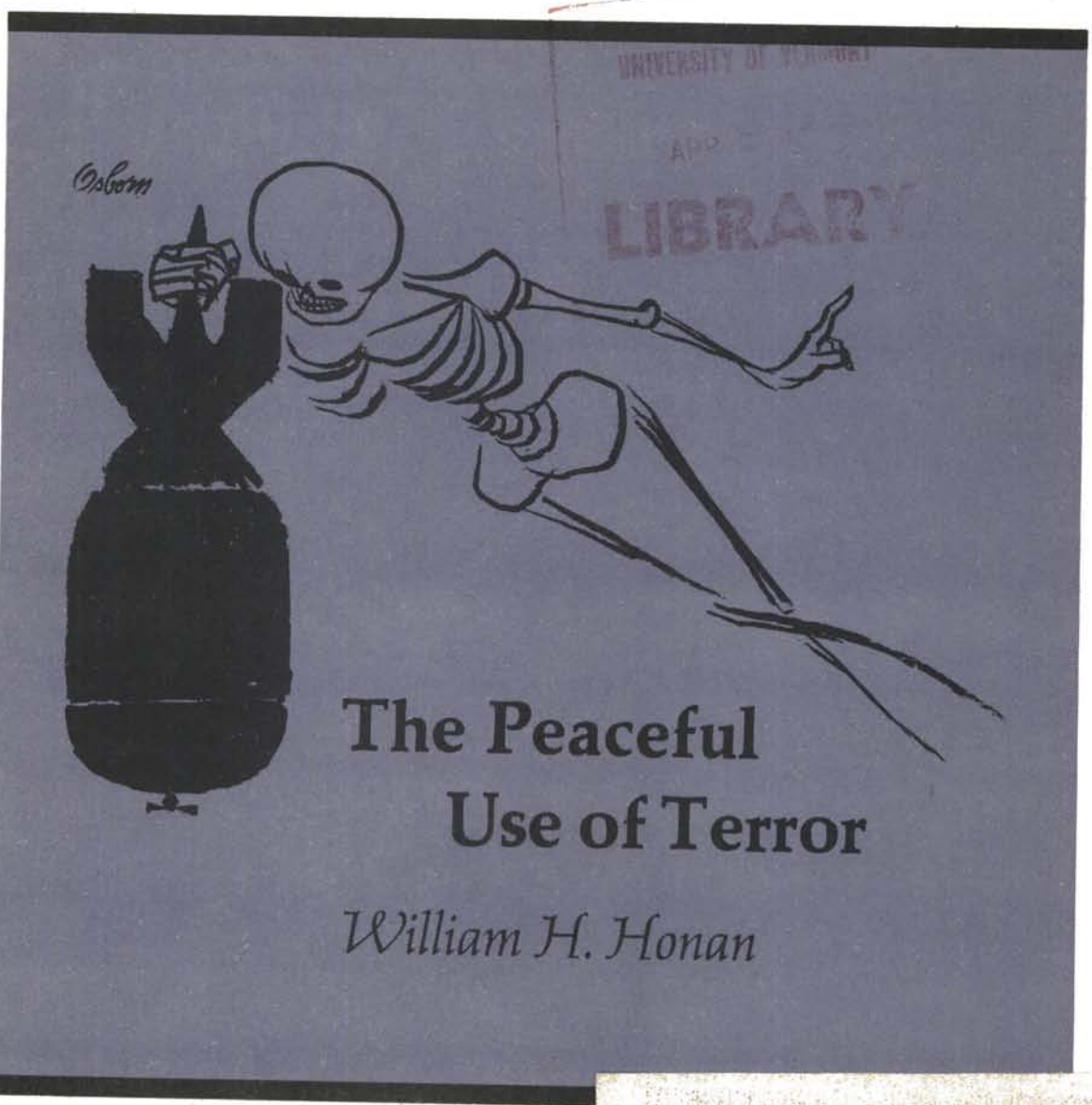

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Economic Infantilism

★ America's unemployment rate has been 5 percent, or above, for 64 out of the past 65 months. There is a continuing gap between actual and potential GNP of over $30 billions a year. Temporarily there is a business pick-up, but almost nobody believes it will get to the heart of the problem of America's sluggish economy.

Once more President Kennedy goes to the country, this time through the forum of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, to explain patiently the facts of life. And once more the wailing counter-chorus begins, warnings about the budget, the deficit, inflation, and the need for offsetting slices in Federal expenditures.

How long can this thing go on? We saw Eisenhower produce recession after recession and all the time scare the country with the inflation bogeyman. Now we see Kennedy compromising and limiting what has to be done to placate the ancient shibboleths. We have, in fact, been buying price stability at the cost of unemployment and business stagnation, and this, in effect, is what we shall continue to do without drastic action.

In the UK, Reginald Maudling has just budgeted for a bigger deficit, relatively, than Kennedy's, and a bigger tax cut and a bigger spending increase. Nobody in London cries "fiscal irresponsibility," or demands offsetting appropriation cuts, and the revered *Economist* asks why the tax cut wasn't two-thirds larger?

What is the difference between the two countries? It is, we think, that America is in the grip of economic infantilism. It is governed by ancient terrors of things under the beds. Kennedy gives the facts but the public can't believe them, though it can't deny them. Is the debt burden dangerous? How silly can you get! – its weight in relation to GNP has been cut in half since 1947. Is Federal debt skyrocketing? The idea is preposterous! It has increased 15 percent in 15 years while corporate debt has increased 200 percent. Is inflation here, or threatened? Nonsense! The US has had a more stable price level than any other big country; wholesale prices are actually now below five years ago.

We-ell, maybe these statistics are so, doubters say, but surely the President ought to make *some* concessions to ancient prejudices when he offers a tax cut on top of a deficit; he can at least balance it off by cutting Federal expenditures by an equal amount.

This is enough to make a highstrung economist jump up and down. To begin with, Kennedy has been making concessions; his two years in office sometimes seem like one long concession. He came to the White House underestimating the economic problem and has only belatedly made it central to his legislative program. He has offered a tax cut that amounts to less than $3 billion the first year ($10-$15 billion would be better) and that pays obeisance to fiscal orthodoxy by freezing budget expenditures other than space, defense and debt servicing. He distributes the proposed tax cut in large part to business or people with higher incomes (the UK tax cut will go almost entirely to smaller consumers).

As to the suggestion that a tax cut must be "offset" by budget reductions, that is a final example of economic infantilism. A tax cut stimulates the economy by giving people more money to spend; if the government simultaneously cuts its spending, it cancels out and negates the very thing it is trying to do. Yet this self-evident fallacy goes on and on.

Rich and Poor

★ Americans keep on paying attention to Cuba when the real problem in Latin America is Latin America. Nearly all countries are involved. Hubert Humphrey said recently: "We are asking for a peaceful democratic revolution. We ought to understand that such a development is unique in history." To put it another way, a revolution is inevitable in Latin America; the question now is only whether it will be a peaceful democratic one or a bloody Communist one. This pessimistic reporter has always rather suspected it would be the latter.

Latin America recalls Karl Marx, a revolutionary who, by the way, never recommended violence. He merely looked at cruel European *laissez faire* capitalism 100 years ago and decided that the rich would get richer, the poor, poorer, and the whole edifice would collapse of its own weight. Well, Marx was wrong. In most modern states the rich-poor gap has narrowed enormously, for reasons which Marx never foresaw. But the gap between rich and poor *nations* is widening all the time. A 524-page UN report last week had startling corroboration: lands with incomes below $200 a year had a 1950-1960 growth rate of only 2 percent; countries with incomes $700-$2,000 averaged about 3 percent growth a year. Marx may be vindicated in a way he never expected.

★ *Notes:* In the New York news blackout most people missed the scandals being uncovered among Rockefeller appointees to the State Liquor Authority; the GOP state chairman (who managed both Rockefeller campaigns) has resigned; Rocky's $25,000-a-year Liquor Authority chairman refuses to waive immunity and is out; now Rocky's $26,000-a-year appointee to the State Court of Claims, Judge Osterman, won't waive immunity and won't quit either. . . . Westbrook Pegler, that fine old Hearst hatchetman who finally buried his hatchet in Hearst, has found his natural home; he is writing for the John Birch Society house organ. . . . We noticed in the list of so-called "favorite books" of JFK, Stendhal's strongly anti-clerical novel, *The Red & the Black*. . . . The Billie Sol Estes case is about over, and with it a political flop; eager Republicans a year ago thought they were going to pin the thing on Secretary of Agriculture Freeman. . . . Senator Goldwater's insouciant willingness to invade Cuba reminds us of another jolly Republican in Cuba, Teddy Roosevelt: he called it "a splendid little war."

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Mississippi

Every impulse of sympathy rises for the Civil Rights Commission when we read the record which has finally brought it to the passionate despair that urges President Kennedy to explore the legal authority he possesses to "withhold federal funds from the State of Mississippi until the State of Mississippi demonstrates its compliance with the Constitution and the laws of the United States."

The Commission reminds the President that James Lucius Allen, Vice Chairman of its own Mississippi Advisory Committee, was bombed in his home. There is something persuasively personal in the reaction of a federal agency which has learned that the majesty of the Federal Government cannot reach far enough even to protect a man who volunteered without pay to help his government.

The impulse of the heart, however, is constrained by the doubts of the head. A moral sanction is not moral when it falls upon victim and oppressor alike. A housecleaning is of no use if it brings down the house. To say that federal subsidies should be conditional on compliance with the law is one thing; a blanket cut-off of federal funds to one state is another. Forty-two percent of the people in that state are Negro. Some of the $650 million in federal aid that went to Mississippi in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1962, went to the privileged; but some went also to its poor and deprived. The Commission, for example, cites the "callous and discriminatory acts of Mississippi officials" who have brought children to "the brink of starvation" by denying them relief substantially paid for with federal funds. These enormities are not happening everywhere in the State of Mississippi. But they would happen everywhere the day the Department of Health, Education and Welfare stopped its grants. The effect would be that the good intentions of Washington would hurt more poor Negro children than the meanness of official Mississippi has been able to.

The Federal Government must be intense in its efforts to rescue Mississippi – white and Negro – from the pit the Civil Rights Commission describes. But precision is the best measure of true intensity. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has rules for its Aid to Dependent Children Grants; those rules of course forbid any state official to use any standard to decide a child's right to relief but need. Let HEW apply this rule to those Mississippi cities which have violated it; if HEW does not apply this rule, then let HEW be told to apply it by a President sworn to uphold the law.

The Commission's proposal also disturbs us because it contains

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none of those exact standards which are most essential in engaging those problems produced by the lawless. What standard is there to judge whether a state "demonstrates its compliance with the constitution and laws of the United States?" What state in the Deep South can realistically be said to have demonstrated compliance with the desegregation decision of the United States Supreme Court, which is nearly ten years old? Is Georgia, which has yielded a little, that fundamentally further along the road than Mississippi which has yielded almost nothing? We have no doubt that any trial would establish Mississippi's guilt; but what way do we have to decide when she has expatiated that guilt?

The Commission has, for example, told us repeatedly and persuasively how brutal Mississippi sheriffs are to Negroes. These sheriffs have been laws unto themselves; their tyranny is protected not merely by their governor but by an actively sympathetic legislature. Suppose Mississippi elected a better governor. Suppose he tried to instruct the sheriff of a Delta county to moderate his physical passions even more earnestly than the President himself tried to convince Albany, Georgia, to be reasonable last summer. Suppose he failed in some cases, and succeeded in others. Suppose he went to his legislature and tried to curtail the personal powers of sheriffs, and his legislature refused. Would his actions, partially successful but substantially a failure, bring Mississippi into compliance? No. Yet this improbable Mississippi governor would have done more than any Deep South governor so far has done.

There is no way, once you find a whole state guilty, either to exempt the victim of the crime or to encourage what few white officials may rise to redress it.

There is, we grant, in all of us, a sense of relief just to think that there might be some way to tell Mississippi to get out of the country. We cannot; we won a civil war to establish the law that Mississippi could not withdraw from the United States; we cannot and should not withdraw from Mississippi.

But we need as a nation to tell Mississippi and all the South that we mean it. We can mean it only when every official in government acts with the same passion for equal justice that the Civil Rights Commission has brought to its indictment of Mississippi. As an instance, no school district can defy a federal court and expect to be rewarded by federal education grants while it is doing so. No federal airport can be built that provides for segregated eating or rest room facilities or which is constructed without adherence to color-blind work rules. We are a nation which believes that racism is disgusting; and we must have officials who, preferably by instinct but if necessary by instruction, will remind every Mississippi applicant for federal funds of our disgust and of the rules we have written against subsidizing discrimination. We are bound to be uniform in conviction. We are also bound to be selective in application.

The Commission's recommendation carries the signature of the Dean of Harvard Law School, the Chairman of the Political Science Department of Duke University, the Vice Chairman of the Southwestern Legal Foundation, the President of Notre Dame, the President of Michigan State University, and the Dean of Howard University Law School. What seems to us an indiscriminate prescription for progress is thus written by men whose names call up images of the deliberate, the moderate. What direct sense of outrage must arise just from living closer than the rest of us, as they have, to the situation in Mississippi?

That is the real point of their complaint. They have in effect put forward for our serious consideration an act of banishment which goes against the habits of their lives, because they know no other way to contain the contempt for law they have found. They are, as we all are, frustrated by Mississippi. But they are also frustrated and maddened by what they plainly conceive to be the moral reticence of their government and their nation. That must be why they feel compelled to remind the President that the Attorney General has, despite the President's own go-ahead signal, four times asked the Civil Rights Commission to postpone public hearings in Mississippi. The Attorney-General most recently wrote the Commission that it did not seem to him "appropriate" to hold a public investigation of civil rights violations in Mississippi until after the contempt trial of Governor Barnett, which means a very long delay. It is natural that the Commissioners should think that this request represents equivocation; but it was also natural for the Attorney General to be cautious about anything that might further charge an atmosphere already hostile enough for the prosecution's cause. The Attorney General made, we think, the wrong balance between his professional necessities and the needs which, not only the Commissioners but the Negroes of Mississippi have waited so long to see satisfied. He made, we think, the same wrong balance when he served Senators Eastland and Talmadge with the appointment of federal judges who had been committed, resistant segregationists. But we do not think of Robert Kennedy as an indifferent man; nor can the Civil Rights Commissioners believe *they* are the only men in this government who care. Still, they must have begun to wonder.

The President may refuse what they ask, but none of us can refuse the urgency which has impelled them to ask it. The President has a proper distrust of fanatics; but he will be in peril to his duty to all Americans if he dismisses as fanatic any group of moderate men whom the sight of reality has driven to immoderation.

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Steel's Folly

The President gave steel an inch, it quickly took a foot, but to what purpose? Steel is a declining industry and the continuation of management's price policies and the union's wage policies will hasten its decline; steel could become the textile industry of the future. In 1962, which was a pretty fair year for US business, steel production was smaller than in 1953, although industrial production was 30 percent higher. Further price increases can only quicken the substitution of plastics, concrete and aluminum for steel – and this lesson has not been lost upon bright young engineers and accountants in Pittsburgh who are flocking to employment offices in New York.

A year ago this April, in the wake of a stormy reprimand from the White House, suggestions of antitrust suits and of pressure from Washington to switch orders away from companies which had raised their prices, all the steel companies withdrew their posted price increases. This April, Wheeling Steel was the first to announce a selective price increase of $6 a ton on 50 percent of its output. The President responded by saying he was not against "selective price adjustments . . . as opposed to across the board increases" and within 10 days every major steel producer had taken the hint and followed Wheeling's example.

By varying the extent of price increases on the same products, and by raising prices on some products and lowering them on others, the industry minimized the chance of collision with the President, but the economic arguments Mr. Kennedy used last year are equally relevant now. Higher prices for steel will raise prices all along the line – the automobile industry, even in a boom year, is not likely to accept the decline in its profits so that steel profits can go up. Steel is a "key" industry in that any price increase there tends to ripple throughout the entire economy. But the industry's action during the past two weeks will have another effect: steel imports which have been rising rapidly will rise even more rapidly, since Europe and Japan have excess steel-making capacity. This in turn will worsen the US balance of payments.

More importantly, steelworkers (of whom 100,000 are unemployed) will now feel more justified in asking for a reopening of negotiations on contracts. If the companies do not pass on part of their price gain in the form of higher labor benefits, a strike appears likely; unless a new contract is agreed upon soon, continued inventory hedging by steel buyers (which has pushed steel production in recent weeks to its highest level in three years) will stimulate business activity in the second quarter of this year, perhaps at the price of a downturn in the third quarter when the labor issue is settled. If there is no strike, the depletion of steel inventories will weaken demand and force more extensive price cutting. As for the claim that a price rise has been made necessary by a rise in labor costs "five times since 1958," that deserves the closest scrutiny. In actuality, labor costs per ton of steel have probably not risen and may even have declined, because of gains in labor productivity.

The companies' main argument, however, is that the industry needs additional money for plant modernization and expansion; yet if they attempt to get it from higher prices, other products will simply make faster inroads on steel's market. It is even questionable whether expansion is desirable. Steel has probably already invested more in expansion than was prudent; if its non-labor costs have gone up during the last five years, it is primarily because larger overhead is being spread over a smaller output of steel. But let us assume that the companies are right, that more investment funds are needed than are available. If that is so, if it is modernization the industry requires, then the way to get it is to go to the capital market when there is insufficient funds within the industry. The steel companies have often expressed their concern about "intervention" by the President in private decisions; they ought then to play by the rules of the traditional free market game. Among these rules is that investment ought to meet a market test – new steel investment should compete with other possible investments in the capital market. One can hardly say that passing on investment costs to consumers in the form of higher prices is a true market test.

To repeat, steel is a declining industry. That decline is not preordained, but something other than low capacity operation and higher prices, something other than another confrontation between the President and the steel officials is necessary to arrest the tide. In raising prices at this time, the steel firms have invited higher labor costs and a further weakening of their position against imports and substitute materials.

A New Glossary

A Congressional investigation of the Foreign Policy Association, demanded in a resolution passed by American Legion Post 139 of Arlington, Virginia, is not likely to occur. Far from being new, the charge underlying the demand – to wit, an allegation of the presence of "internationalists, relativists, atheists, humanists, equalitarians, pro-Russian apologists, Red China lobbyists, and socialists" on the Association staff – merely echoes a resolution previously adopted by a national Legion convention. What justifies comment on the comedy is the enrichment of the glossary of philosophy and political science provided by an officer of the

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How Horrible!

Commenting on an article by Gleb Struve ("After the Coffee Break," *NR*, February 2, 1963), the Soviet *Literary Gazette*, official organ of the Union of Soviet Writers, notes in its March 9 issue that Professor Struve "proclaims the end of the 'liberal-period' in Soviet arts and the coming of a 'freeze'. Soviet literature is in danger, he warns. You see, the party 'still wants the writers to toe the line of Socialist realism'. How horrible! . . . What is he counting on? That Soviet masters of culture will go into schooling with the champions of abstract 'arts'? That they will exchange the method of socialist realism, the method of investigating and portraying the truth of life, for an ideology that is alien to them, for the fashionable bourgeois tricks? Mr. Struve writes about the 'freeze'. The learned man from the University of California has caught up this term launched by the reactionary press. Yes, for the bacilli of rotten bourgeois ideology our climate is indeed unsuitable."

On March 30, the *Literary Gazette* returned to the attack, publishing an article by Yuri Zhukov, entitled "Responsibility." Zhukov writes:

"Here is Gleb Struve – the notorious offspring of the notorious reactionary whom Vladimir Ilyich Lenin tore to pieces – publishing in the American journal *The New Republic* an article of sorts in which he mouths his views about the ways along which Soviet literature is going to develop after the meeting between the leaders of the Party and the government with the representatives of creative arts. In this article he suggests to those whom he regards as his fellow thinkers among the Soviet writers how they should act: 'Those who represent [the *avant-garde* trends], proclaims he, 'will probably once more go underground, and their work will reach the outside world through clandestine channels. The emergence of this clandestine literature is one of the most interesting things about the Soviet literary scene since 1957' . . .

"Whom does Struve have in mind when he speaks of representatives of 'clandestine literature'? Those people whose writings were smuggled out abroad and printed there. We remember the unanimously indignant reaction of Soviet writers to the publication of *Doctor Zhivago* abroad. Thereafter, a few people who have nothing to do with literature, such as Esenin-Volpin, also made use of this procedure. But now we learn that among our comrades, too, there were some who could not resist the temptation of publishing their works abroad. . . ."

There follows a sharp attack by Zhukov on the young poet, Evtushenko.

Arlington Legion post. Answering a reporter's query, he defined a relativist as a member of a movement started early in this century to "push through the public school system and the colleges of the United States the relative position of socialism." A humanist, he went on, is "one that follows the concept of words without relation to their practical application." An equalitarian, he further explained, was "just about the same type of person as a humanist."

What Is Enough?

The former chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Rep. Chet Holifield (D, Calif.) said last week that "our enlightened self-interest . . . demands that we continue with the further refinement and development of nuclear weapons in the absence of a reasonably fool-proof test ban agreement." He did not specify what "reasonably fool-proof" inspection means, or how "fool-proof" he thinks an uncontrolled nuclear arms race is, but judging from previous remarks and his professed skepticism about the President's concern over the proliferation of nuclear weapons, Mr. Holifield appears to be saying he would oppose any treaty the Russians might sign. And Mr. Holifield has strong allies in the Congress, in the Pentagon and in Dr. Edward Teller.

Over the past 17 years, the number of nuclear tests has doubled every three years. In 1962, with both the super powers testing in the atmosphere, test ban negotiations were put in deep freeze, but recently there have been indications of a slight thaw. Today, the USSR is ready to accept automatic seismic stations and two or three on-site inspections annually, though no detailed discussions have yet taken place on the exact conditions under which inspections would be carried out. The US, in turn, has backed away from its earlier, elaborate scheme for international inspection and is looking with more sympathy on national monitoring as a basis for identifying suspicious seismic disturbances, whether earthquakes or underground explosions. The US would probably now accept five or six on-site inspections as "fool-proof" enough, if it had corresponding assurances of the reliability of the verification.

This numbers game, though not meaningless, may, however, distract attention from a fact that is more fundamental than any minor points on the Geneva agenda. The whole background of this discussion has been altered because the military odds have shifted so overwhelmingly in America's favor. Secretary McNamara is the expert witness: "Our number of nuclear weapons in any category I am familiar with exceeds the number of weapons in a similar category in the hands of the Soviet Union." This does not mean that the US

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would not suffer intolerable damage in a nuclear war, for Mr. McNamara has said that no matter how many missiles the US has, it cannot hope, in a war, to eliminate all of the enemy's military power, including its hardened and its submarine-launched missiles. What the US is aiming at is a capability of striking back, after receiving a first blow, with enough force to destroy completely the Soviet Union.

If therefore, the US not only has substantial superiority in numbers of weapons, but also the capability of retaliating massively *after* a heavy Soviet attack, it ought to be possible to conceive of a test ban treaty as something which could not in any sense endanger our security – whether the treaty provides for three on-site inspections or seven. The more sophisticated warheads that Mr. Holifield refers to and that might be developed with additional atomic testing, would not further enhance a second or even third strike US capability. If what we now have or will shortly have is enough to destroy the USSR in a second strike, what more is needed? What is more than total destruction?

To those who speak of the possible development of very large yield thermonuclear weapons, Mr. McNamara points out that a great many small yield weapons of the type the US now has in its Minuteman, Atlas and Titan would be far more effective than large 100-megaton type bombs the Russians talk about. This would seem to indicate that there is no need to test the very high-yield types of weapons. In other words, the US now has formidable nuclear strength. If a test ban treaty did no more than to maintain the *status quo*, the United States could hardly do better.

Population Control

The United States spent $6 million last year on population studies, two-thirds of it by the federal government – an inadequate amount according to consultants enlisted by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare; they had urged an expenditure of $16.6 million annually for research into fertility control. The inadequacies of this research have been underlined in a report just released by the National Academy of Sciences, a private organization. It calls for the government to participate actively in sponsoring international birth control research, in order to contain the pressing population explosion throughout the world.

It is surprising that there should be any opposition to this proposal. Mr. Gardiner, a Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, said in the UN last December that there was a "need for more facts about alternative methods of family planning that are consistent with different economic, social, cultural and religious circumstances." Mr. Bell, the administrator of AID, in speaking of India this March, has said that "what is holding up the situation, what is preventing effective family planning measures in India is not the attitude of the government or the people, but the practical ways and means – not simply technical, but social, political, economic ways and means by which family planning can be effectuated in that kind of society."

The thrust of these policy statements, and of the recommendations of the Academy report, is to lift the issue of birth control out of the emotional and moral haze which now envelops it and make it a matter of medical research, where it properly belongs since present methods of birth control, whether natural or mechanical, are so inadequate. The government then would share the results of its research with other countries, which could adapt them as they saw fit.

Serious Catholic opposition to such proposals would seem improbable. Catholics certainly are as interested in fertility control as Protestants or Jews. In March of this year, for example, Georgetown University, a Catholic school, began a center for research on population problems with a $150,000 grant from the Ford Foundation. Its first studies will be aimed at the possible improvement of the rhythm method.

The Kennedy Administration has made a remarkable and commendable shift away from the attitude of President Eisenhower, when he said that he could not imagine "anything more emphatically" *not* the business of government than birth control. If carried to its logical conclusions, present policy would mean that birth control information would be freely disseminated to peoples around the world, something that is not yet possible within this country itself.

FOREIGN REPORTS

Great Britain

The End of Aldermaston?

★ The British peace movement is playing itself out in sporadic and senseless little acts of defiance. These already had begun to occur last October when the nonviolent peace marchers trampled American flags and heaved stones outside the US embassy in London. Last week, 20,000 of them ended their sixth annual trek from Aldermaston to London with a full-scale riot at Whitehall, which led to the arrest of 70 persons. Along the march route, a group called Spies for Peace led some of the demonstrators to bunkers built by the government as an emergency seat of administration in the event of nuclear war. Predictably, they sat down around them. While the revelation of these secret installations revived suspicions of the incompetence of the British intelligence service, the manner of their exposure was a

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novel if rather vague way of making a plaint for peace.

The peace movement has two major sections: the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament led by Canon L. J. Collins of St. Paul's Cathedral, and the Committee of 100 that was begun by Ralph Schoenman, an American graduate of Princeton. The latter is led by Lord Russell. CND people are a tame lot, seen almost any Sunday marching about London or huddled at the feet of the parson, applauding his tales of nuclear horror and pleas for unilateral disarmament. Some of the CND supporters are intellectuals; the greater number are less articulate members of the middle class.

The Committee of 100 is different altogether. It was begun because Schoenman and others felt that marching was not enough; it contains a youthful group of socialists, anarchists, nihilists, Gandhists and a few Communists, bound together only in their common desire to create a revolution which will topple the government and somehow transform Britain into a neutral and egalitarian society. The outlines of this new society are blurry; the means for achieving it are explicit: limp human bodies. Thus, the Committee has sought unsuccessfully to foment strikes at missile bases, stuff the jails with non-violent demonstrators, baffle the police until they are rendered impotent, create havoc by revealing official secrets and in general produce the chaos that would bring the country to a dead halt. These maneuvers have been accompanied by speeches of Lord Russell, who for three years has been predicting imminent death and urging civil disobedience.

Last week's riots were probably the last straw. It is doubtful that there will be another Aldermaston march. Mr. Michael Foot, the Labour MP and supporter of the CND, said the Campaign would have to think carefully about the shape its future demonstrations would take.

ITALY

Down the River?

★ What is at stake in the April 28-29 general election is the survival of the governing center-left coalition of Christian Democrats, Social Democrats and Republicans – backed by the Nenni Socialists. An impressive performance by the coalition would speed up the political isolation of the Communist Party and lead, gradually, to an erosion of confidence in the party among the rank and file. (In the latest elections, almost one Italian voter out of four supported the Communist ticket.)

Equally important, the consolidation of a stable and progressive political system in Italy would provide a strong assurance that Italy will actively associate itself with the US on all major issues confronting the Western alliance. Within the Socialist Party itself, foreign policy is becoming one of the main watersheds between Nenni and his friends and the pro-Communist wing. Two weeks ago, for instance, Nenni reaffirmed his willingness to accept Italian membership in the Atlantic alliance. He and his friends have made it clear that they would prefer that nuclear weapons remain in the hands of only two powers, the US and the USSR; more recently, they have said that they will go along with Italian participation in a joint inter-allied nuclear force. They have also restated their support for British membership in the European Economic Community and eventually in a European political union. Nenni is against an autarchic and inward-looking Europe.

On the other hand, the rightist and conservative groups, which many US diplomats had praised and pampered, have expressed dismay at the sympathy being shown by the Kennedy Administration for Italian progressivism. A former Fascist Ambassador to Franco Spain who was elected to Parliament in 1958 on the Monarchist ticket and is now running as a candidate of the conservative-minded Liberal Party, said flatly a few weeks ago that such a shift in American policy "would be in direct contrast with the approach that millions and millions of Italians consider the only possible and necessary one for their country." The leader of the Monarchist Party branded as "a gross interference in Italian domestic affairs" the statement by President Kennedy that under the center-left government Italy has proved fully loyal to the Atlantic alliance. Similar criticism of Kennedy has been voiced by leaders of the Neo-fascist *Movimento Sociale Italiano*, while other Fascists and pro-Fascists openly charge that Kennedy, bent on reaching an agreement with the USSR, is ready to sell Europe down the river. The conservative *Corriere della Sera* of Milan denounced "the insensate strategy which the Americans are now trying to force upon the alliance . . . and which gives the Europeans additional and more serious reasons for distrusting the United States. . . . The fact is that Europe must be defended with nuclear weapons if it is to be defended at all; but Washington has now abandoned the Dulles' doctrine of immediate nuclear response to any attack against NATO and at the same time strives to dissuade the Europeans from developing nuclear weapons of their own."

Collaboration between Catholics and Socialists, which is the very essence of the Italian center-left experiment, had previously been tried only in small countries like Austria, Belgium and the Netherlands. If such an approach should now prove successful in a country like Italy, fresh impetus would be given to the trend toward similar combinations elsewhere on the Continent, beginning probably with Western Germany. Nor would the impact be confined to Europe. In Latin America, the Catholic forces would be influenced by this example of a Christian Democracy firmly wedded to modernization.

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ADENAUER SAYS HE WILL RETIRE SOON, BUT MANY DOUBT IT

The Old Man Won't Let Go

Bonn

The slowing down of Adenauer's reflexes and his natural obstinacy have for a long time been combining to make him virtually unapproachable on the twin questions of his surrender of the Chancellorship and the appointment of his successor. During these last two months he has not made a move toward seeking a settlement of the question of his successor, other than repeating on April 10 that he would indeed step down in "October or November." It is a measure of popular skepticism that such assurances are not accepted at face value.

Adenauer's Christian Democratic Party wanted to ensure the 87-year-old Chancellor a graceful withdrawal from office in October, in accordance with the undertaking Adenauer gave his Free Democratic coalition partners twice last year. But the Old Man is showing no signs of wanting to withdraw gracefully; indeed, there have been indications that he may at the twelfth hour launch a powerful drive to stay in office. The Christian Democrats, again, wanted to "save face" for the Chancellor by stipulating that his approval for the chosen successor should be sought, and obtained. But Adenauer has not deviated a hair's breadth in his determination to prevent the party's obvious candidate, Vice Chancellor Ludwig Erhard, from succeeding him. The party, finally, sought to paper-over its differences with its own leader (Adenauer is its Chairman, and will continue to hold this post after he retires from the Chancellorship) by instituting a three-man commission to "settle" the matter of the succession. Adenauer's answer has been to avoid talking to the three men at all.

All this is bad enough of itself. But Adenauer's antics since withdrawing four weeks ago to his North Italian holiday resort of Cadenabbia have been more worrying still. He has indicated to German newspapermen that he is reconsidering the date of his retirement, on the grounds that he was wrongly advised by his Minister for Special Affairs, Heinrich Krone, in the first place and need never have given way to the Free Democrats demand for an October 1 change at the top. To these same newspapermen he has had some biting things to say about his Cabinet, his party colleagues and the state of German public opinion.

In an interview given to the Munich illustrated weekly, *Quick*, Adenauer said that it was an "absurdity" (he used the word *Unding* which carries an additional hint of "unnaturalness"), that there should be a Chancellor "in process of being dismantled"; the head of the government should be vested with the fullest authority up to his last day in office. In a letter to a leading Christian Democrat, Dr. Suesterhenn, Adenauer claimed that pressure was brought to bear on him during last autumn's government crisis, to retire in October.

It was no coincidence that at the precise moment that Adenauer was making statements of this kind, a faction emerged in the Christian Democratic Party which proposed openly that he should remain in office until the 1965 Federal Election. This faction is led by Theodor Blank, the Federal Minister of Labor and not one of the most politically alert or enlightened members of the Cabinet. Blank's argument is that the succession question is causing so much trouble that it should be scrapped. Blank, it must be assumed, can only envisage a settlement by Adenauer's dropping dead.

There is something tragic about the spectacle of a man who has, in the main, ruled Germany with such wisdom for the last 15 years wrecking his reputation in an obscure lakeside villa in a foreign country. The Chancellor's sojourns in Cadenabbia have become the equivalent of a music hall joke, with the octogenarian venting his spleen on all and sundry and striving to keep limbs supple and brain clear at his everlasting game of "Boccia" (Italian skittles). The Social Democrats have nicknamed the place "Bonnabbia" and have asked acidly what anyone would think of Mr. Macmillan governing from Berchtesgaden. Lacking today any close adviser but the "backroom eminence" of Dr. Hans Globke – a man whose political past has encouraged him to stay in the shadows – Adenauer seems to be totally unaware of the damage he is doing.

He seems to be equally oblivious of the strength of feeling which is building up against him in the Christian Democratic Party and in the country as a whole. He is losing the support of Christian Democratic youth (its organization, the *Junge Union*, has begun to criticize him openly) and of Christian Democratic Trade Unionists. The party's semi-independent Bavarian branch has already declared that it will support Erhard. In the north German towns – whose predominantly Protestant populations have never been attracted by the mystique of a West German state centered on the Catholic Rhineland – there is growing impatience with Adenauer. In Berlin, Christian Democratic strength is weaker than at any time during the past 10 years. In the March 31 Rhineland-Palatinate Land elections, a traditional Christian Democratic stronghold and on the

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doorstep of Bonn, the party's vote went down by four percent; the vote of the Social Democrats was up by six percent.

With the inevitability of a sleep-walker, Adenauer disregards everything around him and moves toward a final shattering crisis. He intends to keep Erhard out of office and put in someone whom he can manipulate from retirement in Rhoendorf, just across the river from Bonn. He will strive to defer his own retirement if he does not get his way over the succession. He may even try to defer it, in any event, by some stratagem like inviting Khrushchev to Bonn (Khrushchev has never paid the return visit which was proposed when Adenauer visited Moscow for the first and last time eight years ago). His old brain is evidently incapable of grasping the fact that he is unwanted. One recent remark perfectly illustrates this: he expressed his pleasure over the latest public opinion polls and added that the only question was "when and where I shall go over to the attack." As if, the *Koelnische Rundschau* wrote, Adenauer had still not heard that there is going to be a new Chancellor.

The climax may be reached at the end of this month. Between April 21 and 26 there is a series of internal meetings of the Christian Democratic Party. The sole theme to be discussed is the succession. Who? When? How? Each question is a stab at the vitals of the shaky party. All questions could be settled by Adenauer himself – in a single sentence. Furious, frustrated and nursing a bitter sense of grievance at the moment, he will have this final chance to rehabilitate himself.

TERENCE PRITTIE

WHOSE HELPING HANDS WILL LEAD THE CONGO FORWARD?

Everybody's Problem Child

Dakar, Senegal

The irrepressible Congolese charivari continues, never quite the same, never very much different. In a country where one can anticipate the unexpected, the return of Moise Tshombe, rebel and embezzler, to Katangese regional politics can only cause a limited degree of surprise. As he spars and jabs at the government in Léopoldville, and as the no doubt sorely-provoked Congolese Army of "occupation" in the ex-rebel province lives on more and more ugly terms with the Katangese, the question is inevitably asked: does Tshombe have a political future, after all? A reasonable prognosis is that such a successfully slippery politician has a possible future as Premier of the Congo, but probably no chance of being left for long as an unscrupulous tribal politician in the country's richest tribal heartland.

At least the moon-faced man of Katanga is original. He is, as his supporters say, more than a puppet: he is a clever and exigent puppet. His latest major ploy – the alliance with Lualaba Province (north Katanga) President Jason Sendwe, his fellow-Methodist and mortal enemy – is an example of his resourcefulness.

But too much, at this point, should perhaps not be made of Katanga, in a study of the Congo problem. Katanga's wealth is mainly copper, of which the world is over-supplied just now, and the Congo is financially viable without copper. The Katanga question was never an economic one, except for Katanga. What is true is that the Congo is politically hopeless once it lets Katanga – or any other region – go; for once secession is agreed to, or condoned, or accepted under force, tribalism, the most dynamic political force in the country, will express itself in secessions all over.

This rich, incapable country needs money. U Thant says $175 million yearly. De Gaulle, when discussing with French-African leaders the possible entry of the Congo into the Afro-Malagasy Union (UAM) and the franc zone, royally called it $200 million, a sum France is apparently prepared to pay.

If the Congo joins the UAM, an organization committed to delaying economic decolonization in return for a handsome price, the French taxpayer will be responsible for most of this. Will the Congo join? The formerly Belgian trusteeship territory of Rwanda, a little knot of problems with a population of 3 million rock-farmers and a per capita of $4.95, joined last month. Belgium made no vocal objection. The Kingdom of Burundi – 2.5 million people, almost equally as poor, and where the government is currently on extremely bad terms with Belgium – is considering joining the UAM also: its only hesitation arises from the fact that, if its relations with Brussels are poor, its relations with Rwanda are even worse. It would prefer joining the UAM if Rwanda hadn't. But the likelihood is that by the end of the year the Congo will be the only French-speaking country in Black Africa outside the flourishing, well-organized Union. Joining it would give it

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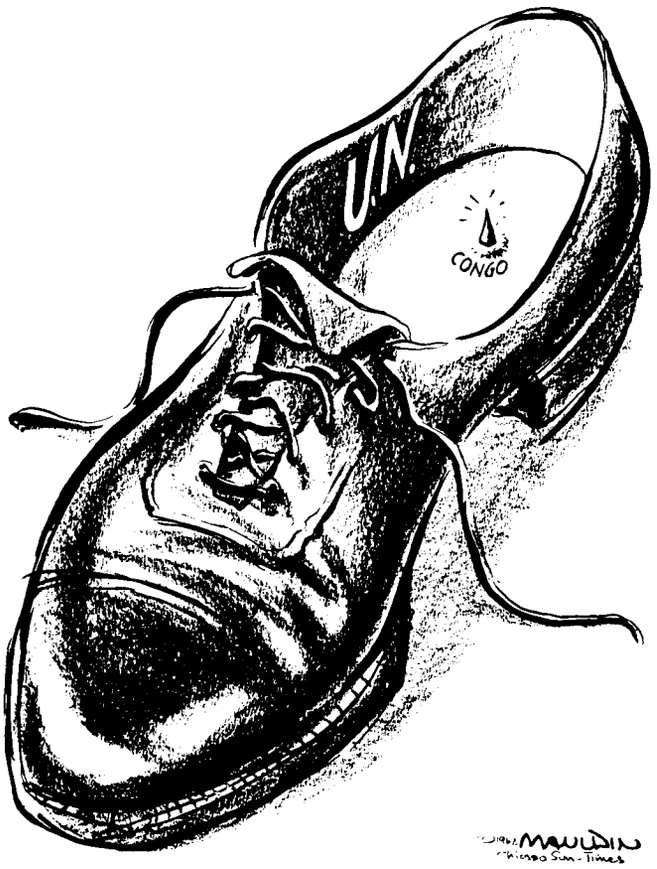
price-props, a more extensive reservoir of French-speaking technicians than Belgium can offer, generous financial aid and the French (CFA) franc in place of the present, worthless Mickey Mouse scrip. It would also give the Congo membership in the biggest voting bloc in the UN after the Communists. It is difficult to see how the Congo can resist – or why it should, once the financial litigation with Belgium over mining shares is settled.

If the Congo does not join the UAM, and France does not take on the financing of what would be its largest African neo-colony, the Congo will of course cling to its reluctant parent, that doughty bachelor that never expected to dandle a whimpering colonial infant on its knee, the United States. For the remainder of the UN operation, however, it should now be possible to make everybody pay their share. The International Court decision proposed loss of voting rights for UN members two years behind on ordinary or special assessments. Since U Thant is the sort of club chairman who knows that no club can survive without discipline, this rule may well be enforced. Probably no one in the world (except possibly Charles de Gaulle) would be mad enough to risk suspension from the UN. But whatever happens about the diminishing UN costs, the need for bilateral aid will be great.

The UN military operation has been reduced already by nearly half, and will be one-third of its 1962 size by the end of the year. All that will remain will be some relatively mobile units – perhaps two brigades, with headquarters – and a jet-fighter "police force." To patrol a country one-third the size of the US, more is needed, and it is even more than ever time that the Congolese did the job themselves. Retraining of the Congo's forces is the only important UN resolution not so far seriously attempted. Belgian officers at staff headquarters in Léopoldville have fought this aspect of the resolutions tooth and nail, and remain unwilling to see Congolese troops come temporarily under the command of UN officers. Now a compromise has been reluctantly reached, whereby Italy, Israel, Canada, the US, Belgium and Norway will share the task, under the UN flag, the role of the US being merely to supply equipment. But it remains to be seen whether training commands will actually go to non-Belgian officers, and whether the UN flag will fly over training schools.

The departure of Robert Gardiner also raises a problem. This exceptional man has done his task extremely well, and clearly it is time that a lesser figure took over the now-diminishing operation. But the lesser figure will have to be, like Gardiner, a mixture of administrator and politician and perhaps an apprentice general as well; ideally he should be African – not Haitian, or Negro-American, or Jamaican, but African. The number of brilliant Africans who can be spared by



their governments, and who are disinterested enough to labor in such a graveyard of reputations is small.

As the UN settles down to purely technical assistance and leaves the job of political advice to Moscow, Washington, Brussels and other interested parties, what is the country's future? As a nation, the Congo began badly, like a child raised on wine in a brothel. Will this generation of Congolese ever be "any good"? Only an optimist would reply: "Perhaps."

As well as a moral and technical crisis, there is a crisis of command. Cyrille Adoula has no party, no mass support. He is the best of the Congolese, the most loyal, the uncorrupt, the most hard-working, perhaps the only Congolese politician worthy of our respect. But his power depends on the UN and the US, and will soon depend on the US alone. This support could be the kiss of death, but what choice has he – or we? He works on, Micawber-like, hoping for something to turn up. Tribal politics flourish like weeds in a well-watered tropical garden. The parliament is a negative pole of attraction for tribalists, little more. The Russians are busy, organizing the *Cité*, the vast, 700,000-population working-class district of Léopoldville. Tshombe, from his off-side position in Congolese politics, and Marxist Antoine Gizenga, who remains in his island prison because no technical-assistance judges are willing to try such a hot potato, still eye each other with a view to a "Swahili alliance." Their deputies in Léopoldville work

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hand in hand, most of the time. The only really genuine sentiment one feels in the country is the urge toward civil war. The Congo gives the impression of being in some essential respects like Italy of just over a century ago, looking for a Garibaldi.

But the future of the Congo is, of course, not for the Congolese alone to decide. Belgium, working through the "experts" in the ministries, wants a *coup d'état* putting police chief Victor Nendaka in power. France backs President Kasavubu, the main proponent of the UAM. Britain sits in Belgium's shadow, perhaps even more now that Belgium is an ally against France in the Common Market squabble. The State Department wants Adoula and parliamentary democracy, convinced that even juvenile delinquents flourish better in an over-permissive home than in an over-repressive reformatory. The Russians, obliged by an early disqualification to go back to the starting-post and begin again, are now calmly saving their wind for the next range of hills in the marathon, sizing up the competition. If others want to force the pace, let them.

RUSSELL HOWE

A Coat Upon a Stick

by Murray Kempton

In the rose garden, President Kennedy arose on April 10 to welcome Sir Winston Churchill into the company of Citizens of the United States. This, entire, is what the President said:

"We meet to honor a man whose honor requires no meeting – for he is the most honored and honorable man to walk the stage of human history in the time in which we live.

"Whenever and wherever tyranny threatened, he has always championed liberty.

"Facing firmly toward the future, he has never forgotten the past.

"Serving six monarchs of Great Britain, he has served all men's freedom and dignity.

"In the dark days and darker nights when Britain stood alone – and most men save Englishmen despaired of England's life – he mobilized the English language and sent it into battle. The incandescent quality of his words illuminated the courage of his countrymen.

"Given unlimited powers by his citizens, he was ever vigilant to protect their rights.

"Indifferent himself to danger, he wept over the sorrows of others.

"A child of the House of Commons, he became in time its father.

"Accustomed to the hardships of life, he has no distaste for pleasure.

"Now his stately ship of life, having weathered the severest storms of a troubled century, is anchored in tranquil waters, proof that courage, faith and the zest for freedom are truly indestructible.

"By adding his name to our rolls, we mean to honor him – but his acceptance honors us far more. For no statement or proclamation can enrich his name – the name Sir Winston Churchill is already legend."

Why does the mind, reading this stuff, think at once that Mr. Kennedy should get a new speech writer?

That prescription is, I suppose, a reactive symptom of the disease of pragmatism which the academicians brought in their baggage to Mr. Kennedy's service. Show us an interior ailment; we offer at once the exterior remedy. The pragmatic suggestion comes to the throat as automatic and as hollow as the cough in Donora, Pennsylvania; each is the product of an infected atmosphere.

But then Mr. Kennedy is still using the speech writers who served him quite well when he thought himself in control of the waters. There is no reason they cannot serve him well again if that sense of control should return. In the meanwhile, in bad season as in good, Mr. Kennedy is as responsible for what is written for him as he would be if he had written it himself. If these words are flat and weary, we must complain not about the artisan who fitted them together, but rather about the flat and weary spirit of the President who accepted them.

"We meet," then, "to honor a man whose honor requires no meeting – for he is the most honored and honorable man to walk the stage of human history."

No sentence so awkward ever tried so dutifully to be elegant. But what is wrong here is something other than a defect in the President's tailor. Somewhere, without our noticing it, Mr. Kennedy's language has been displaced in time, not forward but backward; and

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it has settled in a peculiarly unfortunate century. The model remains the 18th Century, dimly recollected; but the spirit has retreated to the 17th.

The result is mannerism without tension. The 17th Century began by needing sentences which rang changes upon a single word; it ended only by amusing itself with them. The best words were those which admitted of several and, in the happiest cases, contrasting meanings. The word divided against itself and rung in changes was useful as an expression of the divided self. We can see what the device was, occasionally, in John Donne and what it became more often in the Jacobite scribblers; by the end of the century, it had degenerated into a courtly conceit. We have then in this sentence a broken fragment of that Grand Style which Louis XIV needed as he needed elevated shoes; just what could make Mr. Kennedy think he needs it?

We pass with a certain relief into the 18th Century and the array of antitheses:

"Facing firmly toward the future, he has never forgotten the past." That is dreary but serviceable. It is succeeded by a breakdown. "A child of the House of Commons, he became its father." To the degree that this statement makes sense, Mr. Churchill must have thought it blasphemy. No man conscious of a continuing historical tradition could dare think himself its father. To conceive John Hampden as your ancestor is to honor him; to conceive yourself as his ancestor is to destroy him. "Accustomed to the hardships of battle, he has no distaste for pleasure." But that is not an antithesis at all; its two elements are not contrasting but quite compatible; still the form limps to the end, a ritual without function, the nonsense mass of a priest in a crisis of faith in an empty cathedral.

And this is a ceremony composed for the honor of Winston Churchill. He is not an unmixedly attractive figure; but, so long as any of us lives, few of us can remember him with indifference. That is especially true of those of us who were young when honor was simple and Mr. Churchill came back from France to tell his Cabinet that Britain was now alone and that he personally found it rather exhilarating.

In *1984*, when George Orwell invented a single resisting Englishman, he named him, quite naturally, Winston. We remember Mr. Churchill – at least I remember him – not for his majesty, which was, after all, a quality he shared with Queen Wilhelmina, but rather for that superb vulgar effrontery which was only his. The great formal periods may fade; but the vulgarities will, I am sure, shine splendidly on, inspiriting every man alone and tried. If England lasts a thousand years, the one quotation from Mr. Churchill certain to survive in the Oxford Dictionary will be: "Some neck, some chicken." Who else can we remember spitting into the face of history?

All that I have said is too private and too personal. Mr. Churchill has been written badly before; he has been written tastelessly; he has been written brutally; but I had not, before this, thought it possible for him to be written impersonally. That is one condescension which Mr. Churchill's forties have not deserved from our sixties.

I apologize that something this small should have made me feel how lame in spirit the President has become. He may right himself. But then again we may look back on those words, spoken in the middle of a week which began on the battlefield of Antietam and ended barefoot in Palm Beach, and say, but, of course, it was there we should have known: he was beginning to cease to be relevant.

Florida's Sinner Safari

by Emmett Peter, Jr.

State Senator Charley Johns, a well-to-do insurance agent from the North Florida city of Starke (population 4,806), has little use for the courts: twice in recent months they spoiled his handiwork as boss of a powerful legislative investigating committee on a safari for sinners. During the two years since he became chairman, Senator Johns and his colleagues haven't bagged the first proven Communist or homosexual, which is what they've been hunting for, but they have –

► had vacated by the US Supreme Court a contempt citation against an NAACP leader who wouldn't bring his membership list to a hearing;

► earned a humiliating rebuke from the Florida Su-

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preme Court for tricking suspects into signing legally worthless confessions;

► disrupted the academic program and morale of a major state university;

► driven qualified educators from the state;

► overstepped legal authority by inquiring into religious and political beliefs;

► played a part in the entrapment and jailing of a critical newspaperman;

► gone through enough public money to overdraw their $150,000 biennial budget by more than a third.

With that record, the "Johns Committee" will soon ask the Florida legislature for a renewal of its hunting license and more money.

The Committee's most embarrassing reverse came last July when the Florida Supreme Court threw out "confessions" that had cost three public school teachers their jobs. Then, on March 25, 1963, the US Supreme Court vacated a Committee contempt sentence of the Miami NAACP chapter president. The justices held, five to four, that the legislators had no authority to force the Reverend Theodore Gibson to bring with him a membership list in order to "assist" in his testimony. The soft-spoken Episcopal rector had declined the order on November 4, 1959, on the grounds that NAACP members might be fired from jobs and possibly attacked physically if militant racists got access to names and addresses.

Charley Eugene Johns, the 58-year-old former locomotive engineer who served two years as acting governor (1953-54), clearly is captain of the Committee, but he works closely with a husky ex-policeman named Remus James Strickland, chief investigator for the Committee. Strickland, who is called "Sergeant" by the boss, is the implementing arm of a 1961 legislative mandate to look into activities "inimical to the well-being and orderly pursuit of their personal and business activities by the majority of the citizens," whatever that means.

Strickland was hired by an earlier committee, five years ago, and now makes $750 a month plus expenses. Pay, car allowance, and per diem for his five-year tenure (up to September, 1962) amounted to $43,083.77, which includes $7,539.69 for "fees paid to informers."

The state Supreme Court took a look at Strickland's tactics in the Pinellas County schoolteacher case, threw out the "confessions," ordered the teachers reinstated, and warned school officials: "The vice of this assumption of power is demonstrated by the fact that he [Strickland] called in the suspected people and told them that 'my committee had subpoena power' but that if the power were invoked the hearing would have to be in public. . . . The statements which they [the accused] allegedly made were obviously extracted from them under a threat of publicity which might result from the threatened exercise of a power which the Committee did not possess."

In plainer language, deception. But who needs the courts? The Committee had made its point. The teachers went to court and won, but their reputations were frayed beyond judicial repair. Thirty-six other teachers lost their jobs through Committee investigations and didn't go to court.

In practice, judges rarely get a look at the Committee's stock-in-trade of oblique accusation, innuendo, and suggestion of past associations. Look at what happened to a man we will call Johnny Jones, a state employee accused by an informer of being "a queer," and of consorting improperly with two women. Strickland took Johnny to Tampa (November 8, 1961) and turned him over to Deputy Q. E. Blewfield for a polygraph (lie detector) test. Blewfield concluded Johnny was telling the truth about homosexuality but lying about the women. Now comes the written report and an amazing statement by Blewfield: ". . . subject *is guilty of homosexual acts.*" (Emphasis supplied.) Understandably, Johnny's boss was puzzled and asked about the seeming inconsistency. Elementary, sir, Blewfield explained: *homosexual* is an omnibus word that he uses to cover any sex offense that isn't "natural." Johnny hasn't been proven a homosexual but his state personnel file so brands him.

After the Johns Committee investigated the University of South Florida at Tampa in 1962, it issued a 53-page report. President John S. Allen said of it: "The Johns Committee has . . . probed beyond its legislative mandate into the university's curriculum, its choice of assigned reading material, the religious and political beliefs of its faculty . . . and even into the private lives of its staff, seeking to build the most one-sided and damaging case it could against the institution."

In this instance, Committee members became literary critics. They dismissed one J. D. Salinger book as "intellectual garbage." (The report lists its title as *Nine Stores.*) The report reprints pages 87 to 95 of the book (Signet edition), underscoring each item of blasphemy or vulgarity, and then adds a box score: there are 45 bad words in "Pretty Mouth and Green My Eyes"; 47, if one counts two *chrissakes* the Committee missed.

Admitting they had found no legally obscene reading matter, the Committee nevertheless criticized the use by students of books treating "illicit sexual relations, alcoholism and the use of vile cursing to an extreme degree." Aldous Huxley and M. L. West were under fire. "It is clearly admitted," the Committee said:

> "that a discussion panel was held in the theater auditorium where the book, *The Devil's Advocate*, by M. L. West, was discussed before a panel of

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faculty members and a group of mixed students and faculty members. During this discussion, Mr. Wesley Ford Davis, Assistant Professor of English, arose in the audience and stated . . . that . . . the author 'seemed to believe that a woman's capacity for love was determined by the size of her breast'. To which the professor on the lectern replied to the substantial effect, that 'Mr. West seemed to grade on the curve'. When this discussion adjourned one of the young ladies in the audience, a teenage student, was approached by a young man, unknown to her, who took her by the arm and asked for a date, stating that she seemed to 'have what it took', referring to the size of her bosom."

Because of the Committee, Florida is losing Dr. Sheldon Grebstein, a literary biographer of Sinclair Lewis and author of *The Monkey Trial*, a critique of the Scopes affair. At issue before the Committee was not evolution, but Grebstein's classroom use of a *Partisan Review* article by Norman Podhoretz, "The Know-Nothing Bohemians." (Bad words again.) Grebstein was suspended, though he won reinstatement when a faculty committee sent the article to 50 colleges and learned that 48 approved its use. Of Grebstein's 31 advanced writing students (average age 24; youngest 19), all but two said the piece hadn't offended them. However, Grebstein is leaving: "Why should I stay around and have people like that meddling in my teaching?"

As a dramatic finale, Strickland played a part in capturing and photographing a real, live, unfriendly newspaperman in a motel-room tryst with a woman. Robert W. Delaney, 45-year-old writer for the *Orlando Sentinel*, said he was invited to the room by a shapely brunette who called herself Janice Lea and pleaded for his advice on a drinking problem. Delaney stayed away two days but finally took the bait; just after midnight on Sunday, February 10, he knocked on the door of Room 27-A, Lakeshore Motel, Tallahassee. Two hours later a pair of detectives entered from the adjoining room and took pictures. Watching from outside was Strickland, who joined the party at the police station. Delaney's lawyer was told by motel manager Herbert Chandler that the room occupied by Miss Lea had been reserved by Strickland.

One of the arresting officers, however, explained everything. "The trap wasn't set for Delaney," Vice Squadsman Burl Peacock told *Miami News* reporter Haines Colbert. "We were after someone else and didn't even think of Delaney until he walked up." And Chief Frank Stoutamire added a further assurance that the case wasn't unusual; setting up motel-room traps by his men and Strickland is routine.

Significantly, Miss Lea was permitted to sign both motel register and police blotter with different addresses, both of them fake. Auto license plate, ditto. She didn't show up for trial. "Sergeant" Strickland didn't *really* want to catch the newspaperman whose stories had cast doubt on Strickland's qualifications; he wasn't *really* after the fellow who in December said publicly "ordinary people no longer dare raise their voices in protest for fear of being labeled a homosexual, a Communist or an NAACP member."

Rickover and Our Schools

by Jacob P. Meerman

I found a great deal to discuss in Christopher Jencks' review of Admiral Rickover's *Swiss Schools and Ours* (March 2, 1963). Much of Jencks' material consists of derogatory depth analysis. Through it he somewhat discredits Rickover by portraying him as a sociological atavist who approaches the pure type of a Calvinist. And as frugal, God-fearing, duty-ridden and ruthless Puritans are out of style, so is Rickover. It seems to me well to ignore this aspect and look at Admiral Rickover's opinions *per se*, which Jencks does. The bulk of his article consists of three arguments against Rickover's views. In each case Rickover has the better position.

The first involves Rickover's conclusions on comparing European with US schools. According to Jencks, Rickover finds that "Americans spend several years longer in school than Europeans aiming for comparable jobs but emerge no better educated." The implication of Rickover's remark is that we are annually expending a large quantity of resources on education which pro-

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duces far less than it could. In most exaggerated terms, year in and year out we spend hundreds of dollars per pupil and have little return for it other than keeping children out of the labor market and out of jail. As Jencks himself states, schools are in part "makework projects for the young."

Jencks then argues that "to Rickover time is precious and wasting it, sinful. But is not the European system also wasteful? English schools, for example, mostly separate the sheep from the goats at 'eleven plus', siphoning the gifted into grammar schools and the rest into secondary modern schools." Jencks goes on to say that this too is wasteful since there are late-bloomers, children who come to life intellectually in adolescence and who are perforce excluded from higher education under the English and West European systems. As Jencks says, "Is it better for children to play games in a junior high school, learning very little but keeping the doors open in case an intellectual impulse hits them later; or is it better to put the more diligent children into accelerated schools and tell the rest to become stevedores?"

The fallacy in this train of thought is the notion that, as Rickover is concerned with the poor return on the investment in our own school system in comparison with that of Europe, he must necessarily condone cut-off points at the age of 11 or something similar. (Perhaps Rickover does, but that doesn't follow from his initial argument.) Jencks' argument is chiefly irrelevant. It is clearly possible to increase the average level of education without instituting cut-off points.

Just Generally Poor

As to my own two cents on the matter, in my capacity as a teacher I have seen some "late-bloomers" among my graduate students. They pay a heavy price for the fun they had in junior high in the form of poor preparation in languages, extremely poor preparation in mathematics, poor writing skills, and just generally poor prior education. As far as I can determine, they will be severely handicapped throughout their lives because of the cumulative effect of their poor early education, not to mention the additional misery they suffer as graduate students in competition with their better-educated fellows. I see no reason why the average level of our secondary education system could not be increased without "cut-offs at 11." Simultaneously, I see no reason for not moving somewhat further in the direction of segregating children more on the basis of intellectual ability. The present hodge-podge may be "democratic," but that is all that can be said for it. It penalizes the bright students by holding them back and, as a result, ultimately the society which to a large degree depends upon the level of education of its citizenry. It is interesting to note that there is no agitation to run football and basketball teams democratically. Competition for first string positions is extremely stringent. Why insist on "democracy" in education; that is, why refuse to recognize that children differ not only in physical aptitudes but also mental ones, when so much more is at stake? "Ability grouping" need not imply "cut-offs." Students would be free to move from group to group depending on their achievement. Entrance into the state colleges and universities need not be restricted to those in the top grades.

Jencks' second argument concerns what may be called the politics of reform. According to Jencks, Rickover states "that the vital factor in getting good schools is to hire good teachers and then leave them alone." Rickover is convinced that this will not occur with the administrators currently in power. The schools will never reform themselves. Hence, he hopes for a militant public which will put pressure on the schools to bring about the desired changes; *e.g.*, better teachers and with them higher standards, advanced courses, and ability grouping. Jencks, on the other hand, sees the general public as an unlikely force in moving the schools in the right direction. Quoting Jencks, "In most communities the parents want the pupils to become 'well-rounded', by which they mean football stardom and student council presidencies. School is a prelude to running an insurance firm and heading the Kiwanis." Jencks sees hope in the actions of school officials who would like to improve their standards but must take an "unambitious approach." Rather than viewing them as the enemy, as mediocre anti-intellectuals, the entrenched group which must be routed if desirable change is to come, Jencks sees them as the hope for the future. According to Jencks, school administrators are not corrupted by their education courses: "Most people who take such courses are so bored that 20 minutes after completing the final exam they cannot even remember who gave the lectures. My guess is that superintendents accept the rhetoric of life adjustment, not because they are brainwashed in college, but because it seems to justify the unambitious approach that they know they must have to get on with the schoolboard and the parents." If it is not the superintendents who are the laggards, how is it that elementary teachers must, on the average, expend a minimum of 24 percent of their college credits on education courses; or that secondary teachers, on the average, must spend at least 18 percent of their credits on education courses?

In my eyes, the departments of education in the colleges and universities along with the school administrators form a conspiracy to preserve the status quo; any movement away from it in the direction required by recent agitation would be a threat to their own security and power. If students in education were

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forced to concentrate far more than hitherto on subject matter and less on jejune education courses, what would the educationists teach? Many are unfit to handle a genuine academic discipline. Moreover, if they were presented with average students rather than the well-known dregs, how would they handle them? And, if the administrators and supervisors in the secondary and elementary school systems were presented with educated teachers who took learning and the intellectual life seriously, what would eventually happen to their own power and status? If you are from the bottom of the intellectual barrel, which you often are if you are a teacher, how comforting it must be to believe that intellectual development, that ideas, that mathematics, and Beethoven, and anthropology, and the Supreme Court, and William Faulkner, and many other things that make our civilization worthwhile are really of little value. How pleasant to insist that the major job for the educator is not the transmission of the intellectual heritage but the promotion of life adjustment. How soothing to spend much valuable time on repetitive, shallow courses about teaching methods, psychological testing, and so forth. (The idea of these courses is fine. Their scope and material is wretched.) If James D. Koerner can be believed ("How Not to Teach Teachers," *Atlantic*, February, 1963) the heaviest resistance to reform comes from the education faculties in the colleges and universities, the school supervisors and the professional groups of the teachers. If these groups continue to have their way, notions such as allowing individuals to teach on the basis of their proven competency through a qualifying examination will make no headway. Hence, well-educated Europeans will continue to be prohibited from teaching their mother tongues in our school systems because they are not "qualified." Nor will there be an opportunity to upgrade the education curriculum of the colleges as long as so much time is required in education courses, or as long as education professors are allowed to teach academic courses. Nor can we hope to see students grouped according to intellectual ability, for this is undemocratic. One cannot expect those in power to reform themselves, as Jencks apparently thinks possible. Of course, I believe with Jencks that appealing to the rank-and-file American citizen will bring no results. As is often the case, the rank and file is apathetic. Change, if it comes, will come from a militant minority.

The final issue is Jencks' question of "whether Rickover's ideals really make sense for modern America." Jencks states, "I cannot see that they do. . . . Our problem does not seem to me to be that our elite is undereducated; our problem is that our working class is undereducated and increasingly unemployable." Unfortunately, Jencks does not develop this argument directly, but goes on in oblique fashion to assert that our

Mr. Jencks Comments . . .

I am not sure if or where Mr. Meerman and I really disagree. First, he accuses me of opposing what he calls "ability grouping." But what does he mean by this term? Since he is against "cut-off points" he is, presumably, against the "track system," which groups children into "Honors," "Regular" and "Basic" programs, or in other ways ensures that "bright" students rarely share a class with "dull" ones. What then does Mr. Meerman favor? Presumably what I would call "achievement grouping," in which students are segregated on a subject-by-subject basis, according to achievement in that subject, not IQ. In other words, if a tenth-grade student reads at seventh-grade level, he is put in a class with other slow readers and works on *Tom Sawyer*, instead of in a class studying *Macbeth*. If he is good at math, he is in the same math class as perhaps are many of the *Macbeth* students. If Mr. Meerman favors that, we have no quarrel.

Second, Mr. Meerman accuses me of believing that school administrators can be counted on to reform the schools. That is not my view. Administrators are middlemen between classroom teachers and boards of education, and they rarely have the courage or imagination to lead a reform movement. But if they will not lead, who will? Mr. Meerman speaks of a "militant minority" of laymen. Here I disagree. Militant minorities of laymen have in the past almost always led in the wrong direction. The only group which seems to me likely to apply the right kind of pressure on school administrators – pressure which would offset the generally low-brow prejudices of school board members – would be the classroom teachers. As Mr. Meerman's figures suggest, these teachers typically spend only a fraction of their time studying education; many are products of liberal arts training. In any case, they are the only major group with a continuing vested interest in better schools. Without them reform will almost always be a flash in the pan.

Finally, Mr. Meerman attacks me for wanting to turn education into make-work. Not guilty. Like everyone else, I want every child to learn as much as his teachers have the wits to teach him and he has the wit to absorb. But how? Does Mr. Meerman think that the mindless students who confront him at Washington State would love Vivaldi and Descartes if the pace of their academic work in elementary and secondary schools had been faster and the exams tougher? My own guess is that most of these students would have flunked out, as they do in Europe. This would spare the taxpayers the expense of supporting colleges like Washington State. But would it increase the number of adults who love music and philosophy, produce a citizenry better able to enjoy its leisure, or do any of the other things both Mr. Meerman and I want?

Christopher Jencks

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educational system is a good countercyclical force: ". . . there seems to me to be no prospect of full employment in America for the foreseeable future. By cutting down the number of hours spent in school, the amount of work taken home, and the length of the school year, America manages to keep them [the students] busy a few extra years, until they are slightly more employable. Is this wasteful? It costs no more than paying unemployment insurance, and probably keeps down juvenile crime." Jencks then argues that "there is no apparent limit to how much the American people will spend on education," and he sees no reason why we cannot afford to "use schools as makework projects for the young."

The Efficiency of Our Economic Plant

I find Jencks' position appalling. To begin, we have at our beck and call measures for dealing with the current "secular stagnation" of the American economy, which make better sense for dealing with unemployment than merely disguising it as schooling. A strong upswing would eliminate most unemployment, perhaps including most of the poorly educated young entrants into the labor force. Nevertheless, let us assume, what is patently not true, that keeping children in school and out of the labor market is good anti-recession policy. Does it follow that the school systems should really be run as a poorly-organized WPA project? Along with Rickover, I honestly believe we cannot afford it. Rickover and others may emphasize the Soviet menace and the necessity for our research establishment to keep step with theirs, which, of course, implies concern with the educational establishment. In addition, we may emphasize the need to increase our rate of economic growth, both so as to be able to successfully compete with the Russians and to afford the numerous goods and services we look forward to consuming in the future. But there are other issues which I would consider of great importance, such as the question of social justice. The maltreatment of the Negro is internationally infamous. The billions spent on baubles while expenditures on the mentally ill, the needy aged and the criminal are relative pittances is a national scandal. The plight of the migratory workers is a cynical commentary on our alleged Christian society. But if we are to have social justice, we must further decrease hatred and ignorance; and it has always seemed to me that an efficient mode of doing this is through the educational process – that is, if we are willing to educate our children as to what man is, as opposed to the pap-like fairy tales of many of the current textbooks.

Moreover, I am told that we live in an era in which the efficiency of our economic plant results in more and more people having more and more leisure. I am told that leisure is something of a bore; in fact, productive of very strong anxieties for many who can see no role for themselves other than that of cogs in the industrial machine. This is a sad state of affairs. For centuries mankind has strived to be rid of the economic problem, only to find that without it life, for many, becomes unbearable. Here again, education would seem to be the answer. Through gradual and cumulative improvements in the educational systems, and certainly not only the scientific and technological categories in that system, we can hope to develop human beings who find a life of leisure a joy rather than poor drudges who, when left out of harness, can find nothing better to do than turn to TV and beer and all the other fun-things our commercial community promises, but which, alas, really are not much fun – for many at any rate.

I suspect the reader detects a note of warmth in my prose. It comes, I assure you, in large degree from my experiences as a teacher in economics at a state university. Day after day I look out at a sea of bucolic young savage faces and, inevitably, Markham's poem comes to mind: "Bowed by 12 years of life adjustment, they lean upon their desks; the emptiness of ages in their gaze. . . ." I grant this is more than histrionics on my part; this is bathos. But it contains a grain of truth. If so many of my students are convinced that education is a tedious bore, that sex and money are the only worthwhile things in this life, it is in part, I insist, due to too much implicit anti-intellectualism due to too much life adjustment. When I get them, it is already a case of trying to teach new tricks to old dogs. I will admit that my discipline, economics, is not conducive to fanning the spark of learning to a flame in the typical undergraduate. But I have investigated the reaction of students to professors whom I find exciting, worthwhile, and learned in fields more appealing to students. Here, too, I discover that the ideas, the concern, the fire, falls on deaf ears, on wet rags.

To revert to the issue, our state-supported colleges and universities commonly subsidize each student from $1,000 to $2,000 per academic year. Because of the form of state taxes, often much of this money is collected from relatively poor people. But quite apart from the question of contributions by the poor, is the community to spend its hard-earned tax dollars so that students can continue to have solely the nice time they had in high school? Do we really want to make the entire educational system a make-work project for the young? Hardly.

Perhaps I see education as a far too potent means for improving our society. Be that as it may, it is clear that there is no good reason for not considerably increasing the returns from our present expenditures on education. To write off the system as a make-work project strikes me as senseless.

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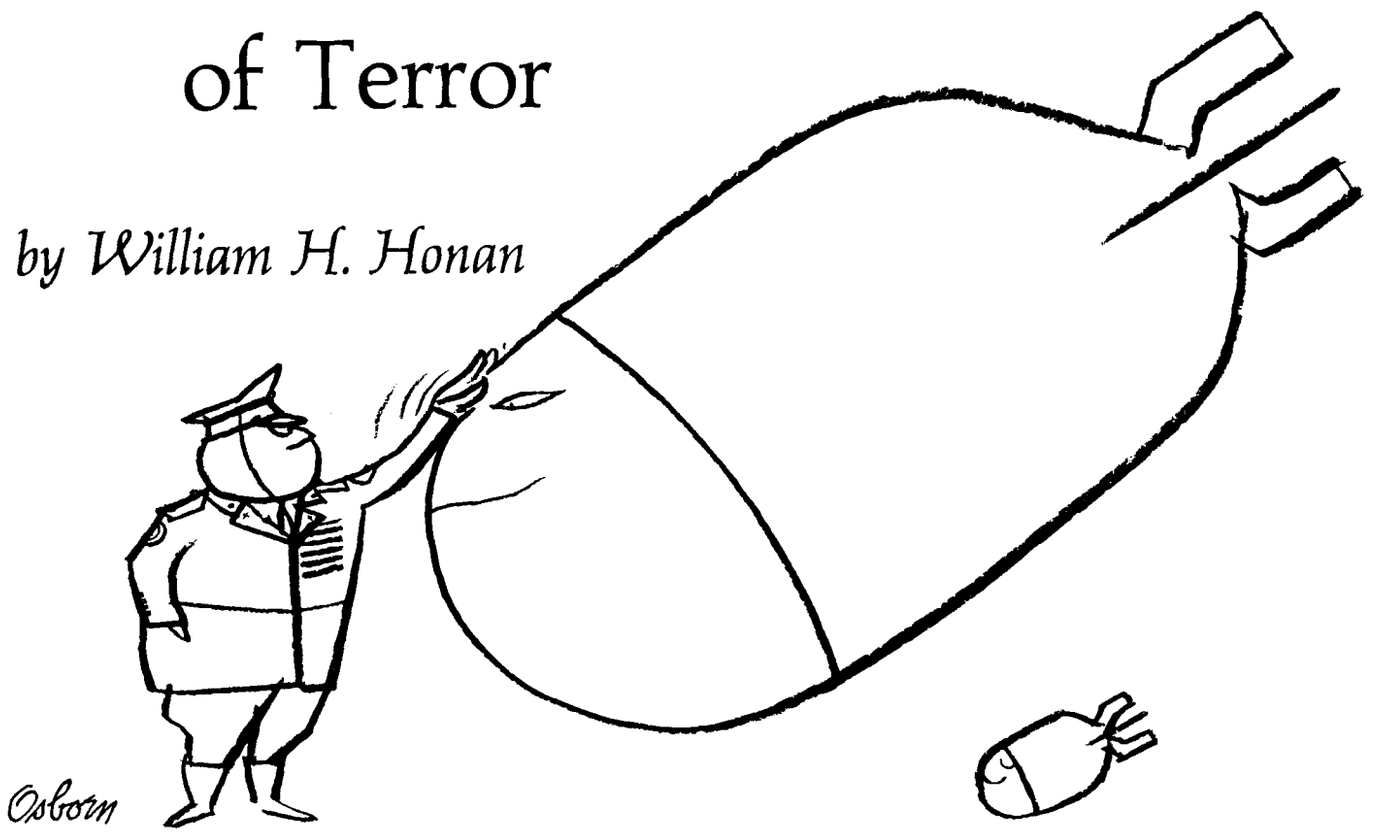
The Peaceful Use of Terror

by William H. Honan



The following joyous exclamation appeared in a major New York newspaper:

"The art of war will be no more in a few years! Terrible perfection shall make wars impossible. It has been reported that our present fortifications are useless. I think so . . . I have [an invention] which will perfect . . . warfare, the perfection being to prevent war by making it terrible."

The words were those of Dr. J. H. McLean, a St. Louis industrialist, who, on March 27, 1880, demonstrated to a group of reporters the first breech-loading, repeating cannon. In an expansive mood afterward, Dr. McLean dubbed his invention "The Annihilator" and declared that war was a thing of the past – a prediction no one questioned. "The Annihilator" could pump a theoretically endless volley of shells into a target up to 20 miles away. Just think of it! No defense could withstand *that*. Surely now, all nations of the earth would be "commanded to keep the peace." It seemed plausible, but in less than 80 years, Dr. McLean's assurances were betrayed by the Spanish-American War, the Sino-Japanese War, two world wars, the Korean War and a fistful of smaller conflicts – in all of which the repeating cannon played a terrible, but apparently not too terrible, role.

Since no man can see over the curve of history, few are able in their lifetime to conceive of ever coming to terms with the latest outrage. The shock of the invention of a terrifying new weapon is frequently so severe as to seem permanent, cowing all men in the same way. Accordingly, the terror of new military nightmares appears to be a keeper of the peace, just as the fear of Hell was supposed to be the forge of righteousness.

Theodor Herzl, for example, the great 19th Century prophet of Zionism, once wrote in his diary: "A man who would discover a terrible explosive would do more for peace than a thousand of its mild apostles." Like many of his contemporaries, Herzl believed that one day science would bring the possibility of slaughtering whole peoples within man's reach and that then, once and for all, man would recoil in horror from the crime of genocide. Scarcely 50 years later, the Nazis com-

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mitted this very crime against Herzl's fellow Jews.

The First World War does not seem to have disabused even a thinker of the measure of Thomas A. Edison. In 1923, a reporter for *Collier's* magazine asked Edison the following question: "In view of the future possibilities for wholesale destruction of human life and property through scientific discoveries since the armistice, do you believe that another world war is probable? Will not the certainty of the appalling destruction of another great war act as a restraining force upon all nations of the earth?" Edison replied: "I think it will oppose any large wars and restrain them."

One could add to the list of believers in the peaceful use of terror a host of 19th Century scientists and inventors, the mere recital of whose names suggests an ordnance inventory – Sir Hiram Maxim, Richard J. Gatling, Lieutenant Henry Shrapnel and, by far the most interesting, Alfred B. Nobel. Like Andrew Undershaft in Shaw's *Major Barbara*, Nobel was an "idealistic" munitions manufacturer. His object was not to advance the art of war, but, on the contrary, to abolish it, as if with a pedagogical *reductio ad absurdum*. "On the day when two Army corps will be able to annihilate each other in one second," he once told a friend, "all civilized nations will recoil from war in horror and disband their forces." And later, "I should like to be able to turn out a substance or a machine of such horrible capacity for mass annihilation that thereby wars would become altogether impossible."

Nobel realized his ambition if not all of his expectations in 1864 when he developed and patented dynamite – the first modern high explosive which could be safely handled outside of a laboratory. But far from making war "altogether impossible," dynamite was used with impunity in the last months of the Franco-Prussian War. During the siege of Paris in 1871, Prussian artillery began shelling the Monmartre and Saint-Denis sections of the city with what came to be known as the dreaded Krupp-Nobel dynamite bombs – each one producing a frightening concussion and able to demolish an entire building. The French were quick to respond, also becoming a Nobel customer, so that before the fall of Paris dynamite bombs were being slammed back and forth across the lines.

This unhesitating use of high explosives in warfare prompted a reappraisal by Nobel. "A mere increase in the deadliness of armaments would not bring peace," he admitted in a letter to a friend in France in 1890. "The difficulty is that the action of the explosive is too limited. To overcome this deficiency, war must be as deadly for all civilians back home as for the troops in the front lines. Let the sword of Damocles hang over every head and you will witness a miracle. War will instantly stop if the weapon will be bacteriology."

One "ultimate" weapon had given way to another in Nobel's mind and that in turn gave way to doubt. By 1892, Europe's leading munitions manufacturer found himself attending the Fourth World Peace Congress in Berne, Switzerland, although incognito. Discovered by a friend, Nobel snapped, "Perhaps my factories will end war sooner than your congresses," but he then turned around and made a sizable contribution to a young lady's peace movement. Before he left Berne, Nobel had determined that he would "do something great for the movement."

There is, of course, a striking parallel between 19th Century expressions of the peaceful use of terror and those heard in the nuclear age. During the first decade after the Second World War, for example, it was commonly believed that the "ultimate" weapon had brought an end to war. Writing in the *Atlantic Monthly* of November, 1945, Albert Einstein stated that the atom "may intimidate the human race into bringing order into its international affairs, which, without the pressure of fear it would not do." Actually, Einstein was suggesting a possibility rather than a certainty, but soon it became fashionable to overstate his case and indulge in the comforting fantasy that war had become obsolete. Within one week after the first A-bomb had been dropped on Japan, Karl Compton of MIT, one of the scientists most responsible for the bomb's development, told a reporter in Manila that "the logic of the bomb is the end of war."

Shortly after the Soviet Union tested its first nuclear weapon in 1949, Winston Churchill coined one of his ringing phrases: "Peace through mutual terror." He went on to explain that "by a process of sublime irony," the world had reached the stage "where safety will become the sturdy child of terror, and survival the twin brother of annihilation." The idea was a hand-me-down from Alfred Nobel. It took root, however, in the 1950's and soon General Douglas MacArthur was heard to say "Science has clearly outmoded . . . war" and President Eisenhower declared that general war had become "preposterous" and "unthinkable."

"Keeper of Near-Peace"

In 1954, George F. Kennan wrote in his influential book *The Realities of American Foreign Policy* that perhaps nuclear terror had not banished war from the earth after all. He conceived of two kinds of war: "total" and "limited." Of the first of these, Mr. Kennan agreed with most of his predecessors that "the day of total war has passed." But then he added, "from now on limited military operations are the only ones which could conceivably serve any coherent purpose."

With this sentence, the latest nuclear-age doctrine was born. The idea was that the Hydrogen bomb had not ruled out war, but only itself, only "total" war. The fighting in Korea, which was carried on for three years with "conventional" arms seemed to illustrate the

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point. Terror was no longer a keeper of the peace, but a keeper of near-peace.

This view found many adherents in the late Fifties. A stream of books and articles advocating limited-war preparedness began appearing under the signatures of Henry A. Kissinger, B. H. Liddell Hart, W. W. Coffman, Bernard Brodie, Vannevar Bush and General Maxwell D. Taylor. Several of these strategists boldly upped man's tolerance of terror to the point at which a limited war was considered to be a conflict which might include even the use of small "tactical" nuclear weapons, while the biggest bombs were still regarded as self-intimidating. Common to all this speculation, however, was the age-old shibboleth that war, at its most horrendous, was beyond the pale. As General Taylor put it in *The Uncertain Trumpet* in 1959: "The avoidance of deliberate general atomic war should not be too difficult since its unremunerative character must be clear to the potential adversaries." "Unremunerative character" was a whopping euphemism for what other writers had described as the end of the world! But, more significantly, this rather off-hand remark was a measure of the distance that General Taylor – who has since become the President's personal military representative – put between himself and the realities of the nuclear age.

Teller's Scenario

The theorist who has recently carried the idea of limited war to its own absolute limit is Dr. Edward Teller, former director of the nuclear weapons laboratory at Livermore, California. In his current book *The Legacy of Hiroshima,* Dr. Teller explains that total war is not only too terrible for man to contemplate seriously, but that the whole idea is simply insane. "The day we learned that Russia had an atomic bomb," he writes, "the concept of massive retaliation was on its way to becoming illogical nonsense." Dismissing the threat of general nuclear war in this way, Dr. Teller goes on to describe a kind of war which, presumably, is logical and sensible; in fact, the very kind of war that is "being written by our military planners today." Here is the climax of one of these hypothetical future engagements, as Dr. Teller imagines it:

"United States commandoes assembled one of the lightweight nuclear weapons which had been parachuted to them and destroyed a large supply depot upon which the advancing [Soviet] army depended." In other words, the US drops an atom bomb. The Russian response is this: "The Soviet Premier was beside himself with rage. He pounded his desk with both fists and shouted that if one more nuclear weapon were used an all-out nuclear retaliation would be hurled against the United States." But the Premier was only bluffing, or perhaps, like Dr. Teller, he suddenly realized that nuclear war is "illogical nonsense." Consequently, the Soviets docilely withdrew their troops, a free election was held, and, in Dr. Teller's own words, "by the day before Christmas 1965, Loyalist officials who had been defended by the United States were returned to office by an overwhelming majority."

The war was over. There had been no fallout. There were no "megadeaths." The United States had used a nuclear weapon, but there had been no reprisal from the Soviet Union, so the story had a happy ending, thanks entirely to the terror of a tragic one.

Measured against the misguided theorists of the 19th Century, some of our present strategists are playing history's fool. To read in General Taylor's book that "the advent of megaton atomic weapons" indicates that future wars will be "limited," is to hear Thomas A. Edison, 36 years earlier, declaring that new "possibilities for wholesale destruction" will "oppose any large wars and restrain them." Edison was refuted by history, whereas, General Taylor, at present, is taken for something of a prophet in his country since the war in Vietnam came along in 1961 almost as if made to order for the doctrine of limited war. General Taylor believes that "history thus far supports [his] point of view."

So did Abraham Lincoln, who expected the Civil War to be a limited conflict of less than three months duration. As a result, a great many Union Army enlistments expired even before the first major battle could take place. In 1914, the German high command was convinced it could dispatch the business of the

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First World War in six weeks. In 1941, the Japanese warlords expected to cripple the United States *overnight*. It was difficult for Americans at the time to comprehend this preposterous arrogance in the Japanese, although, shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor, there was a pamphlet widely circulated in the United States entitled "How We Can Lick Japan in Sixty Days." But war, no matter how conscientiously planned, restrained and limited, somehow never behaves. From a rational point of view, war is "illogical" and "impossible" even when fought with swords and pikes, yet it has not been characteristic of man to shrink from far greater illogicalities and impossibilities.

The use of poison gas is a case in point. It is frequently cited as an example of a weapon so terrible as to have been shunned voluntarily by modern governments, as indeed it was with a pious proclamation at the First Hague Peace Conference in 1899, subscribed to by 26 nations. Germany was the first to break that agreement 16 years after signing it. However, the Germans never fully exploited their priority in the First World War, not because poison gas was too awful or because they feared reprisals (which they got), but, according to an authority, because the German high command "was disappointed with the results." In fact, they had good reason to be disappointed. Occasionally the wind would change direction and the wrong troops got gassed, such as in one case in 1918 when a young German dispatch runner was temporarily blinded. (To this day it remains a mystery as to whether it was a German or a British gas shell that claimed Corporal Adolf Hitler as a victim.)

During the Second World War, the British, according to Peter Fleming's *Operation Sea Lion*, were prepared to attack German beachheads with mustard gas sprayed from low-flying airplanes, should the threatened German invasion of September, 1940, materialize. As it turned out, poison gas was not introduced in the Second World War until exactly a year later when, in a more hideous fashion than anyone could have predicted, "Zyklon B" was first employed in the gas chamber at Auschwitz.

Yet man continues to hope, blindly and sublimely, that the terror of his own destructiveness will repress his warlike nature. It never has.

The lesson to be drawn from this history is that the present generation will not be spared an encounter with nuclear explosives, no matter how terrible they may be. Mankind settled for itself the question of whether or not to use this weapon 18 years ago at Hiroshima when the user, it should be remembered, was not backed against a wall, but was within sight of victory. Nuclear weapons, like all of their predecessors, will have their day. The only question is: When next?

Hoping Against History

A few voices are crying in the wilderness, Herman Kahn, in his book, *On Thermonuclear War* and, more recently in *Thinking About the Unthinkable*, has attempted to stare down the nuclear demon and describe what he has seen. Several novelists have made imaginary excursions into a horrifying future. Still, somehow, the mass of men do not feel that a nuclear holocaust is really possible; they may be led to conceive of its coming, but they do not *believe* it can happen.

This behavior has not escaped the attention of modern psychiatrists. In 1960, Dr. Jerome D. Frank, professor of psychiatry at Johns Hopkins University, presented an analysis of Cold War nerves in which he said that the common response to the nuclear arms race "is analogous to what has been termed 'denial' in psychiatric theory." He likened popular behavior to that of the patient in a mental hospital "who maintains that she is in a palace, simply denying the situation that exists." A West Coast psychiatrist termed this behavior "selective inattention."

Late last year, in a study called "Reactions to Nuclear War," Dr. Lester Grinspoon, psychiatrist at the Harvard Medical School, noted a more sophisticated refuge from the realities of the nuclear age which he called "intellectualism." The technical and special knowledge of the political or military expert, Dr. Grinspoon commented, "serves to keep him somehow quite distant from the psychological and political actualities." He added, "Doctors make frequent use of intellectualism; so do strategic thinkers."

Psychiatrists are often better diagnosticians than therapists, and while one may come to understand the failures of men to face the dangers confronting them, it is still hard to know what to do about it here and now. Certainly, there is no easy answer, except perhaps to begin with a recognition of the problem. That means rejecting all faith in the peaceful use of terror. It will not keep the peace today any better than it did in the days of Alfred Nobel.

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Two Faces of China

by René Goldman

Edgar Snow's report on his travels through Communist China in 1960 is a pleasant collection of facts and by no means to be classified with those accounts of naïve visitors on guided tours who, totally ignorant about China, have felt impelled to write a book. Nevertheless, Mr. Snow was a state guest; moreover, he was re-visiting old acquaintances. It would have been discourteous for him to criticize his hosts too sharply. He does sometimes point conspicuously to unpleasant features of China today – the all-pervasive power of the government, the stifling intellectual atmosphere – but for the most part he limits himself to quoting verbatim what officials told him as well as standard recitations of "casually encountered" men in the street. He is frank to say that his description may not necessarily always give the full story: "Heart-to-heart political talks with casual strangers are hardly feasible for anyone as conspicuous in China as a Caucasian, a Negro or any non-Mongolian. Much less can any visiting mogul get to the 'bottom of things' in five days of banqueting and official interviews. Nor could I in five months. . . ."

The Other Side of the River
by Edgar Snow
(Random House; $7.95)
Escape from Red China
by Robert Loh and Humphrey Evans
(Coward-McCann; $5.75)

That is such a candid statement, one cannot help being surprised at the superficiality and naïveté of so many of Mr. Snow's observations. Perhaps he sees the Communist leaders in the same light as he did 25 years ago, as though they had not been corrupted by twelve years of the most total power any government has ever wielded. Mr. Snow writes, for instance, of such things as respect for the secrecy of private mail, the availability of all-wave radios and the inconspicuousness of the police because of "security built within the society." Foreigners who have studied in China, as I have, could tell Mr. Snow that not infrequently their mail *was* opened, that no radio could be purchased without a permit from the Public Security police and that Chinese citizens could not buy radios with more than three tubes. The Voice of America, the BBC and other foreign broadcasts are systematically jammed. No doubt, security is built within a society so thoroughly regimented and indoctrinated that the safety of a person is linked to the reporting of anything "suspicious" his eye or ear might chance to meet. Mr. Snow himself gives us an idea of the all-pervasiveness of this control:

> "It is extremely difficult for anyone to get lost in this country. Everybody and everything are accounted for. . . . A hoard of food, a sudden splurge of spending, or an unexplained absence from work or home, are soon known 'on the street.' People can travel freely from city to city but they can't stay long anywhere without a valid reason. The inn or hotel wants papers and explanations. . . . A private guest is soon known to neighbors. . . . How could an illicit affair long transpire in a communal flat without being observed? The Party, its satellites, and the security committees, permeate all society."

Mr. Snow does not add that at the time of his visit, each communal restaurant had its own food tickets, so that a person wanting to travel needed an official document to obtain food tickets in a place other than the one in which he was currently registered. When Mr. Snow writes that he found no barbed wire enclosed concentration camps, unlike his experiences in Stalin's Russia (before Khrushchev's revelations most foreign visitors to Russia saw no evidence of them either), does he really believe that his hosts would have invited him to inspect such camps?

I would be interested also in knowing Mr. Snow's source for his comment about the student movement of 1957, which he dismisses in a few scornful words:

> "Many youths stopped attending classes to hear anti-Party speeches and a few professors were attacked. Some students demanded the right to choose their own teachers . . . they wanted free food for all and no work in the countryside. . . ."

Having, during its one brief month of glory, shared in the exaltation of my Chinese fellow students, when they denounced the "Great Wall Sealing Off the Truth" and witnessed the eagerness with which they tackled national issues, demanding such things as respect for human rights, more learning from the West and the administration

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of schools by teachers who were not merely Party secretaries, I find Mr. Snow's patronizing objectionable.

Mr. Snow speaks of Western-trained intellectuals who were denounced as spies and traitors during the 1957 "anti-rightist campaign" but who were later reinstated in their positions. This may be true of some intellectuals of renown, but my recollection is that thousands of students and teachers were degraded into being janitors, menial workers, sent to "corrective labor," or otherwise had their personal and family life broken. Many of them were driven to suicide. To write, as Mr. Snow does, that after these events the "hundred flowers" of free thought continued to bloom, even within the six rules for permissible criticism defined by Mao Tse-tung, is sheer fantasy. It comes also as a shock when, having summed up the attacks on the family life and property of peasants by overzealous *cadres* in the communization drive of 1958, Mr. Snow attributes the failure of the communes to the "incredible haste with which they were established."

Although Mr. Snow's book contains many errors of fact, as well as misinformation and oversimplification, I should say, that on the whole his is a highly original view of China and not lacking in reasonable judgments and critical analyses.

With Robert Loh (who wrote his book in collaboration with Humphrey Evans) we get a more intimate picture of life in China, seen through the eyes of a Chinese; of a man, moreover, who managed to win enough confidence from the authorities to participate in "setting the stage" for foreign visitors. I regret that the book has a dust jacket that is cheap and sensational and that it contains some brash judgments and easy generalizations; for instance, there is its statement that only an utter scoundrel can live in the New China. That is obviously nonsense. In a dictatorship, a person who wants to climb the ladder often has to cast aside decency – and the more totalitarian the dictatorship, the more this is the case – yet there are scores of millions of peasants, workers, and intellectuals in China who remain honest, who do not rise in the hierarchy or do rise without too much self-degradation – as was apparently the case with Mr. Loh himself.

Like many other graduates of American universities, Robert Loh returned to his homeland after the revolution, hopeful that his talents would be useful to the New China. He was first a lecturer at Shanghai University, then manager of one of the largest private cotton mills. The fiery enthusiasm with which he began soon gave way to bitter disenchantment and the resolution to escape.

Mr. Loh's narrative of his eight years in Red China is lived history. He provides us with insight into the reality behind the façade by telling his personal experience of such momentous events as the land reform, thought remolding, the socialization of trade (and what lay behind the capitalists' enthusiastic surrender of their property), the Rectification Campaign. He describes the means by which suspected opposition was uncovered in 1951 and again in 1957 – the growing feeling of insecurity which caused people to avoid relying on each other and to surrender individually to the almighty government for "remolding." His narrative is consistent with my own experience of student life at Peking University: the same campaigns, anxieties, mouthing of slogans, Party activists lording it over students and faculty.

Mr. Loh corroborates observations made by myself and other foreign observers in China on the plight of the small merchants and the workers, who were hit much harder than the rich in the reform carried out by the self-proclaimed champions of the poor. He repeatedly emphasizes the need for people abroad, particularly scholars, to realize that there is a difference between what the Communists say and what they do. I personally recall how, in the winter of 1957-8, when the witch hunt for "rightists" came to an end, foreign diplomats in Peking were told by the leaders of the Party that this was a purely ideological struggle and that no administrative punishment would be taken. Yet, the next day at Peking University student "rightists" were divided into four categories (teachers into six), according to the nature of their "crimes." To each category a specific punishment was given out: some remained at school under supervision, some were expelled, others sent to "reform through labor" or put under arrest. Professors suffered reduction of salaries, assignment to work battalions, or degradation in status. Loh's comparison of China and the Soviet Union, which he visited briefly, also confirms the impressions of other observers, that the atmosphere in the USSR is by comparison quite relaxed.

Having lived such an intense tragedy, Mr. Loh can hardly be expected to be cool: no wonder some of his conclusions (such as his view that the Communists have put an end to Chinese civilization) may seem overdrawn. The Communists have indeed gone very far in their destruction of tradition, but they cannot dissociate themselves from their own history; the more so since most of them have never been abroad and are largely ignorant of the outside world. The further the first revolutionary wave recedes into the past, the more Chinese culture and patterns of behavior will re-emerge. Many of the

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features of the present regime – regimentation, intolerance toward unorthodox thinking – are nothing but exaggerations of policies of past Chinese governments. The clash of national interest with the Soviet Union, the aging and gradual disappearance of those who made the revolution, are bound to accelerate the re-emergence of "Chinese" as against "Communist" values. Also recent events tend to disprove Mr. Loh's contention that the economies of China and the Soviet Union are so irrevocably tied together that, even if China wanted, it could not pursue an independent course.

Target: The President

by William A. Korns

Early in 1960, Sen. John F. Kennedy described the responsibilities he sought as ones demanding that "the President place himself in the very thick of the fight, that he care passionately about the fate of the people he leads, that he be willing to serve them at the risk of incurring their monetary displeasure." For lack of such a President the nation had experienced eight years of slack at home and drift abroad; with such a President we would "get the country moving again."

The Ordeal of Power
by Emmet John Hughes
(Atheneum; $5.95)

Last December, reflecting on his experience with the office, President Kennedy sounded a different note. "The problems are more difficult than I had imagined them to be. The responsibilities placed on the United States are greater than I imagined them to be, and there are greater limitations upon our ability to bring about a favorable result than I had imagined them to be. And I think that is probably true of anyone who becomes President, because there is such a difference between those who advise or speak or legislate, and the man who must select from the various alternatives proposed and say that this shall be the policy of the United States. It is much easier to make the speeches than it is to finally make the judgments, because unfortunately your advisers are frequently divided."

Had Emmet Hughes published his impressionistic appraisal of the Presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower two years ago, there would have been less incentive to question his net judgment that a self-limiting leader, rather than limiting circumstances, held the key to undiscovered solutions. Today, having watched the determined initiatives of a radically different leader thwarted on a dozen fronts, one is forced to ponder whether another President would have succeeded where Eisenhower failed.

The question in no way detracts from the interest of Hughes' unusual chronicle. A perceptive and literate journalist, he took leave from his job with *Life* to write Eisenhower's campaign speeches in 1952, accompanying him to the White House for the first few months of the new Administration, then reverting to journalism only to return briefly as speech writer during the 1956 campaign. Although his personal involvement was limited in time and scope, it was intense and provided the bulk of the reportorial and analytical material from which Hughes has fashioned his testimony as a "witness" of the Eisenhower years.

As a witness, of course, Hughes acknowledges his full share of preconceptions about the state of the nation in 1952 and the reasons for turning to Eisenhower. Independents and "discerning Democrats" (with whom Hughes identifies himself) will recall the consensus: after 20 years in the wilderness, the Republican Party simply had "to learn again, and to suffer, the cleansing anguish of responsibility and decision" lest the two-party system become extinct; only an Eisenhower as President could give the party a "speaking acquaintance with 20th Century responsibility in world affairs" and generate the "needed freshness of thought and boldness of deed" that a Democratic Party on dead center could not be expected to provide.

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Given these premises, it is no surprise to learn that disenchantment followed inexorably as Hughes observed the loss of momentum on the two fronts that mattered most to him – rejuvenation of the Republican Party and the quest for "peace with justice." His catalogue of disappointments recaptures the mood of the period – the President's unwillingness to enter the lists against Senator McCarthy or to challenge the conservative Republican leadership in Congress, his esteem for a Secretary of State whose didactic and unbending world-view contrasted so sharply with his own conciliatory instincts, his ambivalent responses to the budget-cutting proclivities of his Secretary of the Treasury, etc., etc.

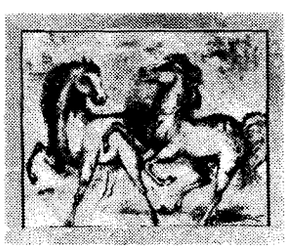
Hughes is a shrewd enough observer to note that "the sheer size and intricacy of government conspire to taunt and to thwart all brisk pretensions to set sensationally new directions," and to sense "the process that somehow contrives, almost always, the dissipation of much of the force behind the most bold thrusts of initiative." Neither limitation, however, serves to extenuate Eisenhower's failure as party or world leader, for "the very definition he imposed upon his roles as President and party leader approached a political philosophy of self-denial."

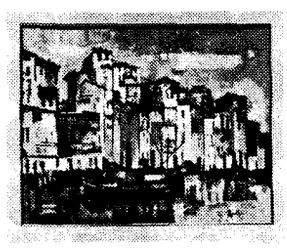
As Hughes sees it, "the great waste could be measured only by the vastness of the unused political resources at the command of the most powerful and popular leader of any free nation in the world. For Eisenhower had constantly enjoyed the freedom, so fantastically rare in a modern democracy, of the full and affectionate confidence of a people who would have followed him toward almost any conceivable military enterprise or diplomatic encounter."

One immediately asks what military enterprise or diplomatic encounter might have been undertaken that would have advanced significantly the cause of "peace with justice." Eisenhower certainly had no license to expand the Korean War to China; there was no significant backing for the MacArthur strategy among the public, who were fed up with Korea and wanted out. The President's decision against intervention in Indochina might be questioned, but there's no evidence that the American public would have accepted a "Korea" in Indochina with any enthusiasm. Hughes implies that the ripest time for military enterprise fell during Eisenhower's first term, when the United States enjoyed substantial nuclear superiority while the Soviets were in the throes of internal stresses following the death of Stalin, but he doesn't cite a specific battle plan and it appears unlikely that any rational military opportunity presented itself.

Similarly, the tantalizing vision of a successful diplomatic encounter with the Soviets during this period begs study. Here Hughes argues that the rigidity of John Foster Dulles spoiled any potential fruits from the 1955 summit conference, and that by the time the President took over the direction of foreign policy on Dulles' death it was too late, but there is rather more evidence that Stalin's successor, having embarked on a course aimed at achieving something akin to parity with the United States, were never prepared to negotiate a reasonable settlement of the outstanding issues.

Be that as it may, both the contemporary observer and the future historian will find greater interest, I suspect, in Hughes' quotation-larded portraits of a working President and the men around him, than in his judgments of what might have been. Richard H. Rovere, writing in *The New Yorker*, has indicted Hughes for "highly questionable *taste and propriety" in citing verbatim* the in-confidence and off-the-record remarks of Eisenhower, members of his Cabinet, and other Administration figures. I can't take it that seriously, and I doubt that Rovere does, for he promptly dropped the issue at the outset of a laudatory review, although I do wonder whether Hughes' note-taking habits can be equated with high fidelity reproduction. The quotations reveal nothing startling in the ideas or attitudes of the men concerned that was not fairly well reported at the time, but they serve to fill out characterizations that have become so familiar. His memoir is a valuable addition to the literature of the Presidency.





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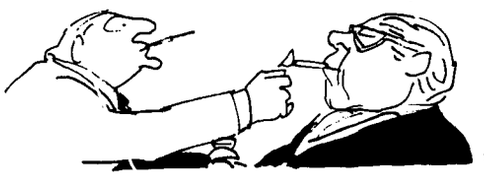

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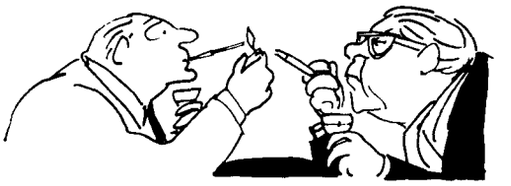

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A Man of Death and Secrets

Landru (Embassy)

The story of Landru, the French "Bluebeard" who was found guilty of murdering eleven women in the early twenties, has been made into a screenplay by Françoise Sagan which has been directed by Claude Chabrol. The film is occasionally bumpy but completely absorbing. Miss Sagan has said: "Landru killed eleven women, all right." (This was, in fact, never conclusively proved.) "But he was gay and had charm. . . . The French were delighted with him. . . . That is why Chabrol and I decided to make this a tender film, barely touched now and then by corpse-like emanations. This will be no horror film."

It is not a conventional horror film, but neither is it gay or, essentially, tender; nor is it overtly satiric like *Monsieur Verdoux*, with which it must be compared. Chabrol uses wide cinematic resources – color and its absence, motion and non-motion, music both pro and contra mood, slapstick, high comedy and high romance, and gruesomeness – to make an existentialist film about a man facing all of life every day. Miss Sagan's introductory contradictions are only a few of the many. What the film says is that *everything* is true, to some degree, for everybody; no two qualities are mutually exclusive. Goering feeds his canaries from his lips. Landru loves poetry.

There are a few inferior moments in script and direction. The sequence of the fortune-teller's maid is cloudy. The direction of some episodes – the bed scenes, the court scenes, tea with the sisters – is beneath the imaginative best in the film. But, in the main, the story is told exquisitely, with intriguing ellipsis, with moving emphasis. (Chabrol has a nice sense of when to use the close-up.) In 1917 Landru is a Parisian dealer in second-hand furniture with a wife and four children, living in middle-class poverty – overstuffed apartment, clean clothes, and no cash. He hits on the idea of marrying and murdering wealthy women; no reasons for this particular choice are given. We know only that he is attractive to women (his wife is accustomed to his long absences). He inserts a personal ad, draws three likely replies, and is off.

With each of his victims, Landru is courteous, virile, non-mocking even in the eyes of the audience who know that he is lying. He has rented a villa in Gambais. (The fact that he always buys a round-trip ticket and a one-way ticket – from the same clerk – is a hint that he is deliberately planting a clue that will lead to his capture some day.) There, with each woman, an idyl is enacted so romantic that the murder, each time, comes as a surprise. To the sound of opera or waltz, the happy victim is shown in closer and closer close-up, until the film freezes into a still picture, still smiling. Then we cut to smoke pouring from the chimney; then to an elderly English couple in the villa next door complaining about the stink. In the first murder there is also a shot of a meat-grinder clamped to the kitchen table.

From each woman Landru gets money in some way and returns with the booty to his patient family who, of course, know nothing. The pace accelerates. After the next victim, the aforementioned maid, there are quick glimpses of some plainer victims, until he meets the German widow of a French soldier. He takes her to the villa and is busily stoking the stove when church bells start ringing and people burst in to announce the armistice. The widow is saved and Landru's murder career is ended. He never attempts it again. The point of this, underscored as it is by inserted newsreel shots of World War I, need not be labored. During his adventures he has acquired a mistress. It is in her flat that the police nab him, tipped off by a victim's sister who recognized him in the street. Landru is absolutely calm; predestined, as it were.

He is still calm when he comes to trial three years later, witty, dignified, protesting his innocence. This continues

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even after he is sentenced. When he is being led out of his cell to the guillotine, his lawyer asks whether he really did kill the women. "That," he says, "will have to remain my little secret."

There is not space to detail all the felicitous directorial touches, only to assure the readers that the film is full of them. Chabrol does not have the same free flight in the film stratosphere that Truffaut has, but he has vision, rhythm, insolence, pathos. There are two other outstanding elements in the film. The settings and costumes by Jacques Saulnier and Maurice Albray are excellent. The mistress' apartment, for example, is in itself a Colette novel. Second, and related, Jean Rabier's color photography is used not only for obvious enrichments but to stress that no one "looks" like a murderer or a victim, no place "looks" like a murder setting. Murder, as well as beauty, occurs.

Few Americans can remember Chaplin's *Monsieur Verdoux* clearly. Based on the same Landru story, it was released here in 1947, but the professional patriots were whooping about Chaplin, the film was picketed and, within the year, was withdrawn, never to be shown here again. I saw it only once and, sixteen years later, cannot rely on memory for qualitative judgments. However, with the help of James Agee's three-part review, some comparisons of story and character are possible.

Chaplin set his film in the Depression, made Verdoux unemployed, gave him a crippled wife and one child whom he adored, made all his victims repellent. *Landru* is counterpointed with the war; he commits his crimes for his wife and family but does not deeply care for them – his wife, in return, loathes him. Five of his eleven victims are lovely. Verdoux spares a lonely girl because she is a widow and sympathetic to his misanthropy; she becomes the mistress of a munitions manufacturer. Landru spares a girl who might have been a victim because she is spirited; she becomes *his* mistress. Verdoux is a virtuoso part with plenty of flourishes for a great actor, pantomimist, comedian. Landru is a relatively "straight" part for a good, forceful actor.

Both stories, then, are set in contexts of disruption – war and depression – when hope is dear and life is cheap, when traditional virtues, not necessarily false, are derided. Chaplin made Verdoux a loving husband and father, made the victims repulsive, so that he could at least bring the audience *with* him through the murder attempts (he commits only one killing in the film), so that he could shock them with this behavior in a "family" man but hold them for his lesson that murder-for-money is the logical extension of business. He spares the lonely girl and treats her paternally to reinforce his essential innocence; her fate confirms that the world cannot be cheated.

Chaplin's film, which was generally hated, was called non-conformist, Swiftian. *Landru* is absolutely conformist – in that he does not protest about life that forces him to this; he accepts it as his inescapable rotten fate, as against his neighbor's differently rotten one. The film is not in general tone satiric; and although its shape and style have imagination, the content of most scenes is realistic. *Verdoux* is the work of a mind nourished in 19th Century idealism, angry with the world's enmity towards love and life. *Landru* is the work of contemporary non-idealistic minds, inquisitive rather than hopeful, insistent on the rights of love but aware that it never appears unaccompanied by various uglinesses. Their protagonist makes not the slightest bid for sympathy. He does what he has decided to do, not as Sartrean gratuitous acts but as acts which represent the best of his ability to cope with life as he feels forced to face it. Others can repair shoes or construct buildings; he can murder. Some of his victims happen to be beautiful and winning, but Landru knows that this makes his crimes neither more nor less monstrous.

He is never afraid, never repentant, never explanatory. Verdoux gives the world a statement in the court-room and his cell. Landru simply asserts his innocence.

Verdoux is a rebellion against the falsities of the past: the hypocrisies of

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Notes on Contributors

René Goldman, *who previously studied in China, is now a graduate student at an American university.* William A. Korns *is a Washington correspondent.*

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religion, war, materialist morality. *Landru* is an acceptance of the present, very hard beneath its lovely surfaces and "tenderness." It leaves us wishing we understood why he protested his innocence if he committed these crimes without fear and with a rationale; but even that question – posed in such a provocative and well-wrought framework – helps to make the film memorable.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

Correspondence

The New Republic *welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.*

The Big-hearted Networks

Sirs:

In his letter condemning Paul Goodman (March 23) David Brinkley uses as an example of critical incompetence Goodman's suggestion that the networks be broken up and the franchises redistributed to municipalities, colleges, local newspapers and ad hoc associations. Mr. Brinkley rebuts this by pointing out that with the exception of municipalities, these are precisely the groups that own television stations at present; and that only the programming supplied to these local stations by the networks (and implicitly the influence these network programs have on the level of local programming) are what makes today's television as watchable as it is. The networks are doing things that local stations can never do alone: municipalities and local newspapers are too much under parochial influence to give adequate air to touchy issues: colleges and ad hoc associations don't have enough money to lose consistently the amounts the networks lose when they produce "classic" films ($100,000) or cover conventions and elections ($2 million).

This argument is neither as true nor as valid as it first seems. It is quite conceivable that a station owned by a municipality and operated by a relatively autonomous board analogous to present-day Fine Arts or Library Commissions would be a major force in broadcasting the cultural and political awareness of a community.

Secondly and more important, no college or ad hoc association can seriously consider covering a national election if it would lose $2 million by doing so. But in what sense do the networks "lose" $2 million? They "lose" it only in the sense that this is what they don't get from regular sponsors during the conventions that they would have received if their regular programming had not been interrupted. Only if we assume with Mr. Brinkley that selling time on the air is an inseparable characteristic of television as a communications medium can we say that covering the conventions and elections will lose you $2 million. Making a similar assumption about education we could say that the colleges are "losing" fantastic amounts of money each semester by not selling 5 minutes of every 50 minute hour to persons interested in selling students pencils or notebooks or coffee or beer or selling their corporation as a nice place to work after graduation.

Robert Howard
Wayne State University

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What Cannon Didn't Think

Sirs:

I was astounded to read the statement by Francis Russell in your correspondence column of March 23 that "James Cannon who organized the International Labor Defense to aid Sacco and Vanzetti admitted privately that he *thought* Sacco was guilty." (Emphasis added.)

After reading this revelation of my private thoughts about a case that began 43 years ago, I managed to get a copy of Mr. Russell's book *Tragedy in Dedham* which I had previously missed. There I found on page 332 that Mr. Russell had explained my attitude somewhat differently, as follows: "After his expulsion from the party, James Cannon, the International Labor

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Defense's executive secretary, was to admit privately – much as Moore did – that he *felt* Sacco was guilty." (Emphasis added.)

The truth is that I have never *felt* or *thought* that Sacco was guilty. I have always thought they were innocent, and have never expressed a different thought or feeling, privately or publicly, anywhere at any time.

I would like to add a word in defense of the memory of Carlo Tresca which has been besmirched by Mr. Russell's statement that Tresca *privately* told Max Eastman "that Sacco was guilty." I knew Carlo Tresca very well and was closely associated with him in the campaign for Sacco and Vanzetti, and for 26 years after that. We collaborated over the years in many activities of common interest during which we had occasion to visit each other's offices, to drink wine together at Italian restaurants, and to talk of many things in friendly, casual conversation. It would not be too much to say that we were friends.

Never, at any time, did I ever hear him express or even intimate any doubt about the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti. And I never heard any report, or rumor, or gossip, from anyone else who ever heard such a thing about Tresca until Mr. Russell's statement hit me in the eye. *James P. Cannon*
Los Angeles, Calif.

Our Brother's Keeper

Sirs:

"A very rich nation does not ask what the poor can do for it, but what it can do for them."

This moral proposition of the editors in the April 6 *New Republic* ("Giving and Getting") is a commendable product of Hebrew-Christian assumptions about being our brother's keeper, and the nearly universal support of the idea that the rich should be responsible for the poor. But if we really want to do the poor a favor, our foreign aid philosophers would do well to find a rationale for continuing to give or lend help and money, and also to invent ways to invite the poor to help us out at the same time.

We do the morale and self-esteem of the newly developing nations little good by even hinting that they are in

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no position to offer assistance until their national income level and "infrastructure" are respectable by rational economic standards. Their desire to be donor-teacher nations here and now is a genuine match for their better known desire to get and learn from others. President Nyrere of Tanganyika, before independence, stated his desire for Africa to "make her contribution" to world civilization. President Tito of Yugoslavia gives to Africa while receiving from the United States. Nigeria, Liberia, Ethiopia and Sierra Leone are offering scholarships for Americans to study in their universities. To deny such nations the chance to be donors by questioning their ability to afford it is reminiscent of the old question, "Are these people fit for self-government?"

To imply that we should continue one-way giving to the less fortunate – as a continuing act of faith in the human race – represents an unfortunate attitude held in common by people on opposite sides of arguments about how big the foreign aid appropriations should be, I think the attitude is worth revising because it seems to complicate our relationships with the very people who beg us for help, or who accept, as Louis J. Halle pointed out (March 23), what we thrust at them. Besides, we are the losers by not getting all we can out of our foreign aid investments.

"With all the talk these days about American foreign aid, we sometimes forget that for a very long time the shoe was on the other foot," Philip Coombs, former Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, pointed out at a recent American Assembly. "For its first 150 years . . . the United States was a major recipient of foreign assistance. . . . We drew enormous strength from all aspects of our development from the cultural resources of the Old World – its educational and political institutions, its storehouse of knowledge, literature, music and art, its technology and brainpower."

Why should we fail now to expect and encourage similar imports from the poor Asian, African, Latin American, Canadian and other dependents of ours?

Wilton Dillon
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